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LD0605130588 [Editorial Report]

Iranian, French Comment on Hostages' Release

The release of the three French hostages was the result of Iran's request that the "Muslim Hizballahi people of Lebanon assist in solving France's problems in Lebanon," Iranian Deputy Prime Minister 'Ali Reza Mo'ayeri affirmed in an interview with Tehran television.

Iran rendered this assistance for "humanitarian" reasons and in response to the Chirac government's "positive approach to the conditions which Iran had laid down for a normalization of relations."

French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac has expressed the desire for a resumption of diplomatic relations between France and Iran, Mo'ayeri added, and Iran "will respond" to this in the future.

In a statement broadcast by Paris radio, Chirac thanked the Iranian Government "for its aid and for its various interventions which allowed the release of our compatriots."

Noting that the hostages' release took place "in the context of our relations with Iran," he confirmed that Iran intervened with the kidnappers to obtain the hostages' freedom.

The French prime minister also expressed gratitude to Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and to "a friend of France and Iran" whose activity made possible "this happy conclusion."

"Authoritative" sources in Algiers asserted that the "friend" referred to by Chirac was Algeria, which played a "consistent" mediating role that helped keep open channels to the kidnappers, AFP reported.

As for the details of the French-Iranian agreement which led to the hostages' release, Paris radio announced 6 May that it consists of three points: the restoration of diplomatic relations; a payment of 400 million dollars to Iran to settle the Eurodif dispute; and "humanitarian" treatment by France of Anis Naqqash and prisoners arrested in connection with the 1986 Paris bombings. The radio added that a payment of 10 million dollars was made to the kidnappers through the intermediary of an "association of martyrs."

In another development, the French Interior Ministry announced that French intelligence have identified the man believed to be responsible for the wave of bombings in Paris during 1986, the radio noted. The suspect, who is still at large, is a 22-year-old Lebanese member of Hizballah called "Bassam" who entered France under a different name.

Israel

Aftermath of Lebanon Operation—In remarks reported by MA'ARIV, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir indicated that he had no advance knowledge about the large-scale IDF operation at Maydun, but he said he feels "no resentment" toward Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin as this was a "routine search operation" that did not require the Inner Cabinet's approval.

Alignment and Likud members of the Inner Cabinet had earlier criticized Rabin for failing to consult the other ministers over the raid on Maydun, IDF radio reported, noting that the critics included Ari'el Sharon.

On the military situation in Lebanon, Jerusalem radio reported that a South Lebanese Army (SLA) force remained in Maydun after the IDF evacuated the area, carrying out further searches and blowing up houses.

An SLA tank destroyed a "terrorist" vehicle, killing its occupants. Beirut radio cited reports that some 800 Israeli soldiers were still deployed in southeastern Lebanon 5 May, despite Israel's announcement that its operation was over.

According to the clandestine Radio Free Lebanon, Hizballah officials and gunmen returned to their destroyed stronghold in Maydun several hours after the SLA withdrew.

Occupied Territories—An Arab shepherd was killed and another injured in a clash with Jewish settlers near the Shilo settlement in "Samaria," Jerusalem radio reported.

The Arabs were shot after they threw stones at settlers who objected to the shepherds' flocks grazing near Shilo. The radio added that police are investigating the incident.

In Jerusalem, police arrested U.S.-Palestinian nonviolence activist Mubarak 'Awwad and presented him with a deportation order, Jerusalem radio reported, noting that the U.S. Consulate in East Jerusalem viewed this with "gravity."

Shamir's media adviser told IDF radio that 'Awwad is one of the central figures behind the riots, that his activities are funded by the PLO, and that he has expressed support for "terrorist actions" against Israel.

Police also arrested journalists working for the banned publications AL-'AWDAH and DEREKH HANITZOTZ, Jerusalem radio disclosed.

Al-Wazir Death Denial—"The Israeli Government was not and is not behind the operation that caused the elimination of Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir]," Knesset member Roni Milo told the Knesset in a statement reported by HA'ARETZ.

PLO Affairs

Voice of Lebanon radio reported further clashes between Fatah and PNSF gunmen in Beirut's Shatila camp 6 May, noting that this violated a cease-fire agreement reached the previous evening.

A PLO Executive Committee statement carried by Baghdad Voice of the PLO radio accused "suspect forces" of igniting battles in the Palestinian camps in Lebanon, asserting that this is an attempt to drag the Palestinian people into "side battles" and to disrupt the results of Palestinian-Syrian contacts.

The Executive Committee "positively assessed" Palestinian-Syrian relations in light of PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat's talks with President al-Asad, and it also welcomed the "positive development" in Palestinian-Libyan relations represented by 'Arafat's visit to the Jamahiriyah. In a press interview cited by KUNA, DFLP leader Nayif Hawatimah stated that 'Arafat will visit Damascus shortly to resume the dialogue with Syrian leaders.

Lebanese Internal Affairs

Three people were injured by another bomb explosion in a West Beirut movie theater, Beirut radio reported 5 May, noting that the blast occurred in the Al-Hamra' district.

A car bomb exploded in the Syrian-controlled town of Al-Batrun the following day, injuring three people, AFP reported.

Roadblocks recently set up in East Beirut were removed following consultations between President Amin al-Jumayyil and senior Lebanese Army and police officials, the Voice of Lebanon reported 6 May.

The Lebanese Forces (LF) had earlier set up 20 roadblocks after the army command failed to heed LF warnings about security and political issues, according to a press report cited by Radio Free Lebanon.

A report by the clandestine Voice of the People radio likewise linked the appearance of roadblocks in East Beirut with tension between the LF and the army, adding that an unsuccessful attempt was made recently to assassinate LF leader Samir Ja'ja'.

Jordan

SAWT AL-SHA'B defended Jordan's decision to expel NBC correspondent Rick Davies, asserting that U.S. criticism of the move is "strange" because any country has the right to expel a correspondent who behaves like Davies.

The paper drew attention to two factors which led to Jordan's decision: Davies allegedly "fabricated" a story about Jordanian mistreatment of an Egyptian photographer and he also screened a program about Jordan that told "lies" about Jordanian-Palestinian relations.

Iran-Iraq War

A military communique broadcast by Baghdad radio announced that Iraqi warplanes raided a large maritime target near the Iranian coast 5 May, scoring an accurate and effective hit.

In a discussion program broadcast by Tehran television, the acting chief of Iran's IRGC General Headquarters acknowledged that Iraq managed to "gain some success" in its recent offensive in Al-Faw.

The program moderator was not contradicted when he said that recent Iranian offensives do "not match the brilliance" of Iran's "dazzling" victories in 1982-83.

Palestinian Affairs

PLO Executive Committee Issues Statement

JN051844 Baghdad Voice of the PLO in Arabic 1550 GMT 5 May 88

[Text of statement issued at the end of the PLO Executive Committee meetings in Baghdad 30 April-5 May 1988; read by announcer]

[Text] The PLO Executive Committee held a series of meetings in Baghdad 30 April-5 May 1988 chaired by Brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], PLO Executive Committee chairman, and commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolution Forces. During these meetings, it discussed several national issues and tasks in the Palestinian arena and in the Arab and international arenas.

The issues dealing with the occupied homeland and our people's great uprising were, as usual, the major topics of concern, particularly following the martyrdom of the leader and the symbol Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir].

Abu Jihad's militant life , his spirit, ideas, and struggle have been devoted to the occupied homeland's cause. Although Abu Jihad fell on the road to the liberation of the homeland, his spirit and the spirit of all the martyrs will continue to inspire us to pursue the march until we attain what they have sacrificed themselves for.

If the enemy targeted the uprising and the homeland in the person of Abu Jihad, our people's insistence to win the battle of challenge has further ignited the revolution. The homeland is now raging with fire under the feet of the occupiers and in their faces.

Through their tumultuous, comprehensive, and continuous wrath, our people have reaffirmed their entrenched national unity that has been and will continue to be the most trenchant weapon our people will hold to defend themselves and their cause in the midst of this volatile state of affairs in our occupied homeland where our giant and blessed uprising of our people has entered its 6th month.

On the basis of all this, the PLO Executive Committee continued to make the necessary arrangements and adopt the appropriate measures that will help our people pursue their steadfastness and continue and escalate their revolution and blessed uprising and that will enhance international efforts using various means and methods on all levels and in the various arenas.

The PLO Executive Committee stressed the importance of convening the forthcoming Arab summit to support our people's uprising, given that it is necessary to bolster Arab solidarity, unify the Arab stand to the side of our heroic people's struggle, and mobilize Arab capabilities to escalate the struggle to liberate the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, attain the inalienable national rights of our Palestinian people, confront the U.S.-Zionist settlement schemes being peddled in the region, and confront the proposals that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has brought with him and which completely disavow and ignore these national rights of our people.

On the level of Palestinian-Arab relations, the PLO Executive Committee positively assessed Palestinian-Syrian relations following the visit by Brother Abu 'Ammar and his brothers to Damascus and their meetings with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and Syrian officials.

This visit and these meetings are in line with our PNC resolutions which seek to attain and clear Palestinian-Arab relations and establish the closest of relations with all the Arab brothers based on mutual respect and joint struggle for the attainment of the objectives of the Arab struggle and based on the pan-Arab stand that is committed to the liberation of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories; the restoration of the Palestinian Arab poeople's rights, including their right to repatriation, self-determination,and the establishment of an independent national state; and the enhancement of our nation's capabilities in its confrontation of its enemies and in defense of its land and existence.

In this regard, the Executive Committee affirmed that Palestinian-Syrian relations, which are based on these pan-Arab and nationalist principles, are surely an important and constructive step toward joint action and the achievement of the objectives of joint Arab struggle.

Within this context, the Committee appreciates the Libyan and Algerian efforts which contributed toward that. At the same time, the Executive Committee welcomed the positive development in Palestinian-Libyan relations represented by the visit of Brother Abu 'Ammar to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

This visit is an important step which will support the national Palestinian struggle with fresh means which will contribute toward securing and entrenching steadfastness and restoring our nation's pan-Arab solidarity.

On the international level, the visit by the PLO Executive Committee delegation led by Brother Abu 'Ammar to the Soviet Union was greatly appreciated by the Palestinian leadership.

This visit and its results confirm the major international status enjoyed by the PLO, the national Palestinian cause, and the Palestinian people's valiant and courageous struggle and blessed uprising.

The Executive Committee stresses the joint understanding entrenched through this visit as well as the firm Soviet stand alongside the PLO and our people's cause and national legitimate rights.

This stand is a major international pillar against which our people are leaning in their legitimate struggle, including the political battle concerning the convocation of an international peace conference in the Middle East and

PLO participation in it on an equal footing with other parties to achieve the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights as emphasized by international resolutions and legitimacy.

The Executive Committee reviewed the attempts of some suspect forces to ignite battles in the Palestinian camps in Lebanon. It affirmed that this is an attempt to drag our people into side battles far away from the major field of confrontation against the Zionist enemy in the occupied homeland.

This is aimed at undermining Arab and world solidarity with our people's valiant uprising and attempting to disrupt the results of the Palestinian-Syrian contacts and the development of their relations.

Aware of the objectives of the schemes of these suspect forces, the Executive Committee calls on the masses of our people and our nation to be alert and vigilant and to foil these attempts. These masses must be equipped with awareness, wisdom, and eagerness to safeguard their national cause.

The Executive Committee praised the valiant Iraqi Army's great victory under the Arab knight President Saddam Husayn represented by the liberation of Al-Faw. It is a battle heralding the liberation of the first qiblah, the third most holy mosque, the cradle of the Messiah, peace of God be upon him, and the place from where Prophet Muhammad, peace and blessing of God be upon, ascended to heaven.

The Committee urgently called for halting the Iraq-Iran war in the interest of our Arab and Islamic nation, to safeguard Muslim blood, and to accept all international initiatives calling for ending this war, including Resolution 598, which were all accepted by Iraq. [Words indistinct] our people's determination to continue to escalate their uprising to end the Israeli occupation and achieve our national, inalienable rights. [Words indistinct] to continue the march until victory is achieved.

Glory and imortality for our righteous martyrs. Glory and freedom for our detainees and prisoners. Greetings of pride to the masses of all of our people—children, women, men, and old men—on the march of liberation and return. Revolution until victory.

Hawatimah: 'Arafat To Resume Talks With Syria

LD0505155988 Kuwait KUNA in English 1428 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Beirut, May 5 (KUNA)—A senior Palestinian official was quoted here Thursday as saying that PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and his top aides would soon return to Damascus to resume the conciliation dialogue with the Syrian leadership.

"'Arafat and the Central Committee of Fatah would visit Damascus in the coming few days to resume the dialogue (with Syria) before going into a broader meeting attended by all constituent factions with the PLO," said Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Hawatimah made these and other remarks in an interview published today in ALDIAR [name as received] newspaper. He pointed out that Syria has agreed to PLO's new national action program which had been endorsed by the Palestine National Council (PNC) during Algiers session, April last year.

The official called for the formation of a new PNC, a move which he said, would support Syria's efforts in achieving inter-Palestinian conciliation.

The PLO chairman visited Syria late last month and had talks with President Hafiz al-Asad and other top officials ending a five-year rift.

Spokesman for 'Dissidents' Denies Return to Fatah

JN051754 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1715 GMT May 88

[Text] In Damascus, a spokesman for the [Fatah] dissidents has denied that Abu Musa [Sa'id Musa Muraghah] loyalists have returned to the Fatah Movement led by Yasir 'Arafat. The spokesman accused the Fatah fighters of provoking Abu Musa's loyalists to drag them into side battles.

Official on Replacing Al-Wazir, Ties With Syria

PM0505114988 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 29 Apr 88 pp 1, 2

[Hasin Bunyan report: "Abu Shakir to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: We Are All Substitutes for Abu Jihad Until Decision Is Made"]

[Text] Riyadh, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Bureau—Rafiq Shakir al-Natshah, "Abu Shakir," Fatah Central Committee member and PLO representative in Saudi Arabia, emphasized that no name has yet actually been put forward to succeed Martyr Khalil al-Wazir, "Abu Jihad," in terms of taking up his position and duties.

Contacted over the telephone yesterday in Amman, where he is staying at present, Abu Shakir told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the name of Abu Jihad's successor has not yet been discussed or raised and "everyone is a candidate until a decision is issued."

He pointed out that the Fatah Central Committee will convene shortly to discuss the issue of Abu Jihad's successor and make a decision in this regard; it will also discuss a number of other issues.

Abu Shakir said the name and identity of Abu Jihad's successor has not yet been determined, contrary to what is being reported. "We in Fatah Central Command are

standing by for a national military order; so once the Command issues an order to any of the brothers to move to any position, the order must be implemented immediately whatever the circumstances and reasons. Thus, everyone is a decisionmaker and a candidate until a decision is made."

As to whether there is any intention to keep Abu Jihad's successor anonymous in view of the sensitivity of such a position, Abu Shakir said:

"Not necessarily, although there is a possibility that it will be kept anonymous, but not a strong possibility, since some states tend to keep the names of individuals working in organs associated with state security anonymous. But the deputy commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolution Forces is not the commander of an intelligence organ, though martyr Abu Jihad, may God have mercy upon him, was in charge of armed struggle in the occupied territories."

Al-Natshah revealed the details of the "Damascus meeting" and the results achieved by Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat after more than 5 years of estrangement.

He said that the meeting was very amicable and brotherly and the talks were characterized by evident brotherly respect and mutual trust.

President al-Asad emphasized a number of facts; namely, his complete respect and support for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, for the independence of Palestinian decisionmaking, and for its call for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

President al-Asad also emphasized there were no personal sensitivities between him and Yasir 'Arafat. He stressed the need to turn the last page and open a new chapter to reach an understanding over various issues.

The Syrian president also emphasized his absolute belief in protecting the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. He called for boosting and expanding dialogue among the various Palestinian and Syrian levels to cooperate in dealing with all issues agreed upon and continue dialogue over the issues still differed over.

Al-Natshah said: I can confirm that the meeting with President Hafiz al-Asad was positive, successful, and amicable; it has opened a new chapter in relations with sisterly Syria and the near future will witness, as agreed by the two parties, frequent meetings at various levels to discuss all means of cooperation between the two sides.

Abu Shakir pointed out that the meeting reviewed all issues on Palestinian, Arab, and international levels; views were identical with regard to most of the points raised, especially support for our people's uprising and revolution in occupied Palestine as well as the stand on Shultz' proposals, the international conference, and the Arab summit conference called for by the Algerian Government.

He announced that Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] will return to Damascus in the near future with a Palestinian delegation to complete dialogue with "the brothers in Syria."

Abu Shakir ruled out the possibility of transferring the PLO offices from Tunis to Damascus in the wake of the recent reconciliatory meeting between Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat.

He said: Transferring the PLO offices to Damascus is not in the cards, although the Palestinian presence will be more effective during the coming days, especially if some of the Fatah offices are reopened.

He pointed out that the PLO office in Damascus is still open and was not affected by the "long summer cloud" that passed over us and Syria and surely when relations are normal this office will be more active and effective than in the past.

Abu Shakir emphasized: Jerusalem is the only permanent PLO headquarters, and we hope our headquarters will be there to continue our tasks after liberating our territory and establishing our own state and to proceed toward implementing our strategy drawn up by the PNC. As for the PLO's other positions, they are temporary.

Algeria

AFP Reports Government Role in Hostage Release

NC0505124588 Paris AFP in English 1232 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Algiers, May 5 (AFP)—Algeria played a "consistent" behind the scenes role in conjuction with Iran in the moves which led up to the release of the last three French hostages in Lebanon, authoritative sources said here Thursday.

The uninterrupted but discreet activity of Algerian mediators throughout the three years in which the three Frenchmen were held in Beirut helped keep open the channels to the kidnappers, the sources said.

The recent hijacking of the Kuwait Airways airliner was a "parenthesis" within the hostage affair and did not disrupt the negotiations.

French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, in a speech of welcome to the returning hostages at an airbase near Paris, expressed thanks to "a friend of both France and Iran" and the same sources said this was an indirect reference to Algeria.

Mr Chirac's failure to name Algeria was attributed here to the closeness of the French presidential election run-off poll next Sunday. Because of the elections, the Algerians were reluctant to get involved in French affairs and would publish no official reaction on the hostages' release, the sources said.

EL MOUDJAHID, the Algerian ruling party paper, reported the release in a brief article on the back page. The radio and the official APS news agency were similarly circumspect.

Chad

President Authorizes Loan Agreements

AB0505144288 Ndjamena Domestic Service in French 1845 GMT 4 May 88

[Excerpts] On 23 April and 2 May 1988, the president of the Republic signed four ordinances authorizing the Chadian Government to sign loan agreements with the IDA [International Development Association], the French Central Fund for Economic Cooperation, and the African Development Fund.

The loans are for road repair and animal breeding projects. These decisions, it will be recalled, were made during the cabinet meetings of 1, 14 and 16 April 1988. Here are the presidential ordinances:

Ordinance No 7 authorizing the government to sign a loan of 30.30 million in Special Drawing Rights with the IDA for the financing of the road reconstruction project. The president of the Republic, head of state, and chairman of the Council of Ministers orders:

Article 1. The Government of the Republic of Chad is authorized to sign a loan agreement for 30.30 million in Special Drawing Rights with the IDA for the financing of the road reconstruction project.

Article 2. The following conditions are attached to the loan: It will be repaid in 4 years, with a grace period of 10 years. [passage omitted]

Ordinance No 8 authorizes the Government of Chad to guarantee a Fr40 million loan signed between the Chadian National Sugar Company and the French Fund for Economic Cooperation for the financing of the company's investments. [passage omitted] The money will be repaid in 15 years with a 5-year grace period. [passage omitted]

Ordinance No 9 authorizes the government to sign a loan agreement for 11.83 million units of account with the African Development Fund, FAD, to finance the national animal breeding project. [passage omitted] The loan will be repaid in 40 years with a 10-year grace period, beginning from the date of the signing of the agreement. [passage omitted]

Ordinance No 10 authorizes the government to sign a loan agreement for 13.20 million in Special Drawing Rights with the IDA for the financing of the national animal breeding project. [passage omitted] The loan will be repaid in 40 years with a 10-year grace period. [passage omitted]

Magazine Reports 'Serious' Military Situation

AB0505144988 (Clandestine) Bardai Chadian National Radio in French 1835 GMT 4 May 88

[Summary from poor reception] The military situation in Chad seems very serious. This emerges from an article carried on 8 April by the weekly magazine MARCHES TROPICAUX ET MEDITERRANEES.

"The internal situation of the country is still fragile despite the many cases of opposition members rallying" to the Ndjamena Government. "This observation tallies with the statement made by GUNT Chairman Comrade Goukouni Oueddei, who said the internal situation in Chad is very bad."

Still, concerning Chad, it must be noted that a French retired Army general recently visited Chad. He is reportedly heading a so-called solidarity group which supports Chad in its war against Libya.

But the French general is mistaken. Instead of venturing into the quicksands of Chad, he should think of the fate of the Chadians suffering from the acts of the Ndjamena authorities and over whose fate Amnesty International has expressed concern.

Libya

Al-Qadhdhafi Recalls Pre-Revolution Days

LD0505085788 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic 1822 GMT 3 May 88

[Interview with Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi by two unidentified men and an unidentified woman in the presence of two prisoners recently freed by Al-Qadhdhafi; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Ladies and gentlemen, revolution is (?fraternity). It is the road to freedom and the result of an unlimited flow; hence, it is freedom. Since revolution is freedom it is, therefore, the state of constant departure from the customary and from stagnation. It is also the daily birth of the new and the glorious. Revolution, as the student Al-Qadhdhafi wrote on his wall newspaper at the Misratah secondary school, is a sun that shines for everyone. Let us add, however, that in order to shine for everyone, this sun had to travel a distance of 4,000 days, which is the time of torment spent by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the student, who was called an agitator by the education authorities in Fezzan Province. He was also called a heretic dreamer when he arrived in one of the streets of the poor town of Sabhah and destroyed the regional map, shouting slogans in favor of a united Arab republic.

Then, the officers of the decrepit Royal Army attempted to contain his dream of a sun shining for everyone by sending him to Britain, and also by providing for him a life of luxury in a comfortable house in a barracks, in addition to other absurd and comic allurements.

In order to make this beautiful, warm, joyful, and friendly sun shine for everyone, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi had to go through 4,000 days of tiredness, bitterness, anxiety, pain, and suffering, while others wanted no sun, let alone a sun that shone for everyone. For this beautiful and clear sun we recall tonight the memory of the 4,000 days, which lasted from 1959 to the dawn of September 1969.

[Unidentified interviewer] Welcome brother leader. Freedom has been established and with it the march of the Great Al-Fatih has been reinforced. Indeed, it has received echoes in many countries of the world where peoples are subjected to oppression and arbitrariness. Now their situation is becoming worse and there is a pressing need for these masses to rebel against their governments. If the matter concerned, let us say, ordinary sections of the population, it could be explained in terms of a revolutionary mind like yours. However, this amnesty, leniency, and action on the whole was aimed, in fact, at groups that harmed the revolution, some of which harmed you personally. Yes, some of them tried to assassinate or betray you. In all the revolutions of the world, the conventional thinking is to make those people and those political movements that have outdated programs and thinking pay a very high price in order to allow the popular movement to progress, continue, and be enriched.

From the beginning of the revolution you have always shown leniency, even when the revolutionary ideas risked being jeopardized in the cradle of the revolution, in Fezzan, due to the tyranny of the family of Sayf al-Nasr. Even then you did not respond with the conventional retaliation which a revolutionary would adopt in confronting a feudal family and a feudal antirevolutionary program. You did not take revenge. Why did you not think of revenge and why did you not take revenge? We are discussing this matter because we are confronted with a situation in which you have released various prisoners, some of whom tried to rob the revolution and harm the Libyan people, the Arab nation, and the history of this revolution, which our colleague has just discussed and which was 4,000 days of suffering and torment.

Those people tried to rob you of your efforts; they tried to liquidate you. They, therefore, tried to undermine the march of the Arab people in Libya. You personally knew of these attempts to rob you of your efforts. We would like to hear something about the history of the revolution in order to see whether those people played any role in the revolution or had any credit for the liberation of the people, or if they had any right to claim that they could guide the revolution or that they could express their views about it. Why? What have we done to them? Why did you grant them pardons?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [laughs] This is a multifaceted subject, and somehow (?complicated) in parts [words indistinct]. What we can affirm is that we will find difficulty in moving these contradictory things. Indeed, all these facts and proposals contain some opposing, contradictory elements. What we can say regarding the [word indistinct] of the revolution, which I have announced, is that none of the people who were arrested after the revolution were remotely related to the founding of the Free Unionist movement, which subsequently became the Free Unionist Officers movement. This was founded in 1959. No one who was imprisoned after the revolution had knowledge of this action, and none of them took part in beginning that movement. The Libyan people as a whole were not aware that a revolutionary movement for the liberation of Libya was founded in 1959-60.

Proceeding from this, the attempts made after the revolution, the attempts aimed against the revolution, were not operations to liberate Libya because the liberation was carried out by the revolution. The revolution liberated Libya from the reactionary monarchy and foreign forces. It also destroyed tyrannical relations. There was

(?no justification) for the second operation, after which people were sentenced to death, to life imprisonment, or detention, without investigation.

What was the reason for this? In reality, those people were trying to claim the revolution for themselves after it had accomplished its national mission. That is why their punishments were execution, imprisonment, or life imprisonment because this was not like stealing a loaf of bread or [words indistinct]. They were stealing a sacred, historic action that concerned a futuristic revolutionary program with a direct impact on generations of the Arab nation and on the world, especially the Third World—Africa and Latin America—in the same way as you see the effects of the Libyan revolution on the world liberation movements.

A historic schedule was about to be stolen. Those who steal material things have their hand cut off according to the Koran. According to the laws of revolution, those who steal the revolution itself will have their head chopped off. I had a great role in postponing the chopping off of the heads of those who attempted to steal the revolution. Those who were permitted to live were released (?this time). I do not believe that anyone knows...[sentence incomplete as heard] We used to hear about [word indistinct] in Egypt or something like this, or its tyranny and injustices, but all the people, the Libyans who were in prison, many of them did not know what was taking place in Egypt. [Words indistinct] the tyranny. This is not because I am who I am, but because of the revolution. I had a revolutionary schedule that opposed [word indistinct].

I had to undergo much suffering in order to establish the revolution at the beginning. I made it a reality that began to appeal to the youth who joined it in groups and as individuals under circumstances that [words indistinct].

No one knows about this. None of these people had knowledge of this. That family's tyranny and ruthlessness were not directed at me. They were only threatening the revolution. Of course, it was possible for them to destroy the revolution at the beginning. However, in fact, Libyan tribes, groups, and individuals suffered from that family's tyranny. It is important that we use this occasion to end this subject. It should be explained and ended.

First, this family which [words indistinct] and which attempted to destroy the revolution from the beginning, attempted to eliminate it—but it is not the whole family. [Word indistinct] that this family does possess arrogant thought or haughty spirit or [word indistinct]. They were, of course, living and being blessed at the expense of others. But not [words indistinct]. Only one of that family bore Muhammad in the era I observed. He was the [words indistinct], the one of arrogance and of [word indistinct]. He inspected the regions and [word indistinct]

This family had some mujahidin; one of this family was called Ahmad. He was a mujahid, but he was smeared by the French [words indistinct] as a result of shortsightedness or [word indistinct]. He was not an opponent of the people nor was he a tyrant; he was an ordinary person [words indistinct]. Another one was called (Omar Abd al-Mighwani). Poor man, he minded his own business [words indistinct] this last group; there is one called Muhammad. At first he was a (?spy for the Italians), but [words indistinct] good people. [Words indistinct] some of them are still working in the Jamahiriyah; working diligently.

They do not have all this [words indistinct]. They mind their own business [words indistinct]. I do not [words indistinct] that he must then be on the blacklist. No, no, [words indistinct] those whom we put in [word indistinct] the blacklist and on the firewood of hell are those like Muhammad Sayf al-Nasr and Abd al-Jalil Sayf al-Nasr. It is possible that these two can be considered tyrants; as the ones who [words indistinct]. They conspired against all the residents of Fezzan, what they call Fezzan. They [words indistinct] people on a wide scale. That means that the inhabitants of Fezzan were all under the control of these people.

Take a tribe like the tribe of (Hissun). The truth is that it was alike [words indistinct] United States. By God, it was [words indistinct] and they are a small tribe. And [words indistinct] this family, and this family, in fact, was (?controlled by) the Italians, and it was called [word indistinct] Al-Nasr, in the old days.

In the [word indistinct] latter period the Italians [words indistinct]. As for the other tribe, not all of it was, in fact, as I told you. There is a tribe, the tribe of (Milaha). The same thing happened. The Italians aimed at it [words indistinct] and living under terrorism, under repression. The revolution, in fact, rid them of this yoke and of this control over them. And [word indistinct] it rid them of [word indistinct] Muhammad. If the monarchist era had continued, somebody else like [words indistinct] could have come up.

Thus, in reply to some of the questions, I was not [words indistinct]. I did not think of arresting any of this family. Until 8 September 1969, when my name was mentioned on the radio, this [word indistinct] Muhammad himself came to the radio station to congratulate me when he heard my name. I heard [words indistinct]. I did not want to give him importance. I did not want to go and see him or to give him importance. When they told me about him, I laughed and that is it. But afterward, officers came and arrested him. They said [words indistinct]. So, I did not even know of his arrest until later, after he (?contacted me, my father told me). He said: Let Muhammad Abu Minyar come! [words indistinct] Afterwards, my father came to me. He said Muhammad [words indistinct] is in jail, under arrest. He is [words indistinct] and afraid [words indistinct]. I told them to transfer him to the hospital. They transferred him to the

hospital and I think he died there. He collapsed, I mean, as a result of the revolution; he had a breakdown. [words indistinct] The pillars of the former regime collapsed. [words indistinct]

This family (?in fact, are tyrants). They mobilized tribes with them, like (Awlad Sulayman) and [words indistinct] in order to fight [words indistinct] (Awlad Sulayman) and the (Hissuns) are brothers and neighbors, and they are in one district, the district of Surt. They are (?intermingled) and they are all Muslims. I mean [words indistinct] they are brothers and close to each other. Their interests are mutual and their interests require that they cooperate.

However, because his family was hostile to Hasun, it mobilized [words indistinct] against these tribes [word indistinct] against the Garha tribe, while the Garha are brothers of these people [words indistinct]. This meant dividing brothers in order to control. Afterwards, it tried to make them hostile to the people who were not from its ranks and divided the people into ranks—a higher rank and a lower rank. All of this because of [word indistinct] in reality.

Not all of those who came to serve [word indistinct], such as the tyrants Abd al-Jalil, Muhammad, [words indistinct] participate in the era as far as I knew. Not all the members of the family said bad things against the Garha or Hasun. They did not even know them; their relatives might have known them. Afterwards, I did not see direct enmity between the sons of [word indistinct] (Salman), Hasun, or Garha as it was not their interest and they did not have bad intentions towards each other because they were brothers and neighbors. In order to exploit them, the chauvinism of the Za'rawa tribe and the racism of one member of this tribe was activated. [words indistinct]

[Unidentified interviewer] (?What is the date) of your release of those who stole the revolution.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] How can you say such things? [laughter]

[Interviewer] Take the case of (Shaykh al-Nasr). Why did you not take your revenge on this family? All right, why did you not take your revenge on Muhammad?

[Unidentified woman] Despite the fact that he was directly responsible for expelling you from Sabhah.

[Interviewer] It was possible for the revolution to be finished, and it was possible that it would not take place at all. It was possible for them to prevent the leader from studying and there was a possibility that they would destroy these ideas, this freedom. It was possible that the monarchy would have remained, together with the foreign bases, the underdevelopment, the reaction, and everything else and prevent you from studying [word indistinct].

[Al-Qadhdhafi] As a revolutionary, it is not possible for me to take revenge [word indistinct] at all. In reality revenge, malice, (?egoism), and the desire for power or any other desire is a disease and it is not possible for the revolutionary to be sick. If he is sick, has one of these sicknesses, it means he is not a revolutionary. Personal revenge is not compatible with being a revolutionary. It is not possible for me to take revenge for personal reasons.

Naturally, (Bey Muhammad) [word indistinct] prevented me, expelled me, and caused me a great deal of family and personal trouble at an early age. It was possible that this would have an influence on the revolution, and it was possible for us to be in a position where we could not build the revolutionary cells [word indistinct]. However, after the revolution triumphed he was not important. He had no arms and I did not even think to arrest him because he had become an ordinary person. He got this [word indistinct] from the monarchy and when the monarchy was destroyed he became nothing. I was not interested in him at all or in arresting him. [words indistinct] Some members of this family are friends [words indistinct]. He was a police officer and I saw him after the revolution. I told him: Continue as a police officer. However, he joined a conspiracy; he admitted it and was sentenced to death. But, I intervened and stopped the death sentence and he is now free, knowing [words indistinct] he was lured. A relative of his lured him and escaped. The one who lured them ran away, like one among the Muslim brothers. I do not know his name [word indistinct] lured the people and is still abroad. Under the protection of U.S. intelligence he trains some people [word indistinct] enter Libya. They will either die or be arrested and he is staying abroad. He has companies and (?is protected) by U.S. intelligence.

[Interviewer] If we go back to the dangerous liberation operation which you led step-by-step before the revolution, you mentioned at the beginning of your speech that those who were arrested after the revolution or who had conspired had no role in the liberation of Libya; that their aim was not to liberate either the Libyan land or the Libyan citizen, as the revolution was based on these supreme goals. It implemented a dangerous program: the expulsion of foreigners, the elimination of the monarchy, and the building of a free national economy. It is enough that the revolution of [word indistinct] expelled the Italian fascist community which was settling in Libya.

Leader, is it possible to give us a few details of some of the events and suffering you had to personally undergo while building the movement before the revolution? Is it also possible to tell us about some of the prisoners who have now been released? What was their position regarding the revolution? Did they have revolutionary fervor before the revolution? This may be of interest.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Thanks be to God we were able to overcome difficult circumstances. [passage omitted] In my second year at the secondary school there was revolutionary activity and the class deliberately participated

in demonstrations in order to get to know the revolutionary elements who constituted the revolution, which liberated people from [words indistinct]. From that day on, activities were concentrated on getting to know revolutionary elements, setting up revolutionary cells, and planning the revolution.

The government of Fezzan became concerned about the revolutionary activity and demonstrations, and Mahmud [words indistinct], in particular, became upset because our activity was threatening their sultan. They expelled me. [words indistinct]. I was not prepared to confront any hard or severe [word indistinct] because the family was poor and I could not afford to be away from it. I was living with my mother. She was staying in Fezzan because of me and had left my father in Surt [words indistinct]. She stayed with me so that [word indistinct] Sabhah. She was staying in the house, which you have seen [words indistinct]. We stayed in that house. Naturally, they thought I was preoccupied with [word indistinct] getting a job and money [words indistinct], but my main preoccupation was planning the revolution. I submitted a petition explaining that I was a poor student and did not even have a relative who was educated and had a job who could help me. [Words indistinct] question marks regarding us, on my fate as a student [words indistinct].

The first strike directed against me on a personal basis and against the revolutionary action, on the family side, the first harmful action. [incomplete sentence as heard] It is known that I did not even have [words indistinct] Sabhah or anywhere I studied. Moving from Sabhah, I found that in the army I had a relative, a soldier in that army. [words indistinct] I went to Misratah. The army was moving toward Tripoli, but they sent me to Misratah. I only had a suitcase and a bag for my books. I stopped at a gas station and left the suitcase—it was a large one—and my book bag there. I walked to [word indistinct] and went to Uncle Khalil and told him the story. I told him that [words indistinct], but keep it to yourself because we do not want anyone to hear of this and [words indistinct].

I entered the school [words indistinct]. An Egyptian teacher helped me and wrote down my grades so that there was no objection to my transferring to another school. [passage indistinct]

There was nothing, but I was determined to study. I went and, by God, I had it in my mind to sleep under a tree and go to school in the morning. It was in my mind to study, but how [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] Were you ever detained?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I was arrested twice in Sabhah when I was a student. This study is known. They brought me before the court, but the court in its turn said I was only a small student and innocent [words indistinct].

[Interviewer] And when you became an officer?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Of course the criminal period was between March and September 1969. An order was issued for my arrest. There was an officer in the military police named Al-Masri, and he is still serving in the military. He wrote to (Al-Shuqayfah) and (Al-Shilhi). He wrote them an arrest warrant in my name. I was on leave at the time. Then, after they were given the warrant, the two fell out with each other. One said: Arrest him! And the other said: No! One said: If we arrest him maybe it will lead to pressure and a revolution in the army, and the king will be angry. He will say: You assure me of the army's loyalty and here is the army (?taken) by junior officers behind your back!

That was the opinion of (Al-Shilhi). He said [words indistinct] those are junior officers and I am a colleague of some of them. We will disperse them! Send them on 7-, 5-, or 4-year courses. (?Send them) to the air defense section. We were all candidates for the courses. The first batch was sent to Britain; the second batch was scheduled to leave on 1 September. In it were about 25 lieutenants from the movement, and 12 lieutenants from the movement went before them to Britain. [words indistinct] The other said: No, he must be arrested. They fell out with each other. [words indistinct] It would have been serious if the order had been carried out. I mean, people were not aware when we used to meet at [word indistinct] Sabhah and the village of Hajarah. [Words indistinct] meetings at night, meetings during the day; the leaflets we used to write; and the books which we used to steal from the library and distribute. [words indistinct] I remember going to inform the group in Misratah, when I was a student in Sabhah, of the shape of the organization, how separate cells begin [words indistinct].

I saw a car halfway between Sabhah and Misratah in the winter, and its occupants gave me a lift to Abu Qurayn. I spent the night there and stayed somewhere between Darnah and [words indistinct] until the car arrived. They said: The boy who was with us wants to volunteer. [words indistinct] In my case, I reached Misratah after much pain, and there I met the group and they saw that I had suffered. It was Ramadan, and I was walking to organize the free officers from Banghazi to Al-Khums, Misratah, Tripoli, and back, about eight times on Thursday and Friday.

I used to travel all this distance in such a short time, and I used to go to that small cafe which opened at 0500 in the morning to have a coffee in order to wake up a bit. Sometimes the car would drop me on the road, and on one occasion when I got to the cafe I saw a bus [words indistinct], and I met a U.S. soldier named Pomegranate. I asked him where he was going. He said that he was on leave and was going to take the bus. I told him to forget about the bus and drive with me to Tripoli; just forget the bus. I had to get to Tripoli that night to secretly meet with officers and return to Gar Yunus without anyone

noticing my absence. If I had travelled on my own, I would probably have fallen asleep in the car because I was extremely tired. In fact, these revelations are known to no one, and then somebody comes and tries to [word indistinct] from the person who spent sleepness nights and suffered from exhaustion.

When I was a student at the military academy, they used to keep me from going on leave by punishing me, charging me with insubordination and rebellion. So I was banned from leaving the barracks on Thursdays and Fridays. But, I used to go over the wall wearing my military uniform, not civilian clothes, so as not to show that I was banned from leaving. Any student banned from leaving who put on civilian clothes could not go out, and if he was caught they shaved his head to humiliate him. Therefore, I used to wear my uniform [words indistinct] and go out in all kinds of weather and head for Banghazi to meet with students from the military academy. If I wanted to meet with them I told them that the meeting was set for Thursday and Friday. Even if I was banned, I went ahead and met them and then returned to the academy secretly. This happened on many occasions at a time when the officers were trying to launch the revolution. Those were memorable years. [words indistinct]

[Question] How did you spend your leave after you graduated and after you became an army officer, especially since we know how life was then and that leave was only rarely granted?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I did not have any ordinary leave after I graduated in 1965. I grouped all my leave together prior to the revolution. During those leave periods I was under arrest or made to repair cars [words indistinct]. We used to meet only on festivals and anniversaries. After many months I would meet them for about 5 minutes, on the occasion of a feast [words indistinct]. We were deprived of all these things, feasts and our parents, and we could not have the pleasure of their presence nor could we live with them. It was a painful time [words indistinct] and then some people come to...[changes thought]. In any case it is the revolution, and we are stronger than those who try to (?achieve something great).

And then, the question of amnesty has a different status. I have said that a human being who has a good side, if we [words indistinct]. I am sure that a number of those people who were reprieved will undergo a complete transformation and become guards of the revolution and become [words indistinct]. If it is a matter of treason, they have paid the price. I was moved when I saw people who were [word indistinct] and were in good health, and yet I found them destroyed. I even asked them: Why have you done this to yourselves? There were those who, when they came [word indistinct], the first word to come to my tongue was: Why have you done this to yourself? I found him very...[changes thought] having done to himself, I mean, weak like this and broken down, and I nearly failed to recognize him. I was very moved. I did not think that people could change in prison in this way. [Words indistinct] the price of treason. He who has a good conscience and wants to do something good, now (?has the chance) to build the Jamahiriyah. He who used to say freedom to the people; he who used to say democracy; he who used to say socialism; he who [word indistinct] things more than Trotskyism, more than Marxism, more than communism, more than anarchism, more than [words indistinct].

There is he who wants Arab unity; there is he who wants a pan-Arab party like the Ba'th party, and so on and so forth. [words indistinct] I mean, I kissed Bourguiba's filthy head because I want Arab unity and [words indistinct]. I kissed Al-Sadat's head and [words indistinct]—all this because [words indistinct] because Bourguiba or Al-Sadat's dirty and rotten heads. What are they that I lay my hands on them, or touch them with my mouth. By God I kissed them all because of this unity. We eliminate borders, barriers; we remove them with bulldozers and [words indistinct]. It will not benefit us. I [words indistinct] with every Arab country. Thus, the Ba'thist and [words indistinct] something in Iraq and something in Syria, so what, apart from unity. That is (?an aberration), even though he is Ba'th and (?loves) Arab unity and thinks that we are not unionists. And then there is another side; there are other people who were wronged. I do not say that all the people who were in prison, from those who had the death sentence passed against them to those who were arrested and interrogated—sure, these represent the people who were wronged because the presumption in those periods [words indistinct]. At times of transformation many innocent people are sacrificed. Sure, it is possible that there are people whom we consider traitors that are not traitors. It is possible that they did not betray us. It is possible that [words indistinct]. It is possible that there was a wrong name; it is possible that there were suspicions; it is possible [words indistinct]. And then the [words indistinct]. We were with Egypt when we used to say that. At that time those who used to utter words against Egypt, those who used to say the Egyptians come [words indistinct] when we open the borders, it was said [words indistinct] you became isolated from the Arabs and [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] All right, let us return to the beginnings of the revolution and the beginnings of your work as a caller...[Al-Qadhdhafi interrupts with words indistinct followed by laughter]

[Interviewer continues] Tell us now about the propaganda side. At the time of (?our revolution) did you speak about the paper in which you drew a picture of the sun [word indistinct]? Did you issue any revolutionary newspapers before the revolution, and at what stage? Was it when you were a student or when you were an officer?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] There was a newspaper at Sabhah school. I issued a (?war) newspaper, which I called THE CHALLENGE to draw the attention of students to its

name. My intent was to attract revolutionary people and bring them with me. In Misratah school, as we said, a newspaper [words indistinct] a (?war) newspaper called THE SUN. I called it THE SUN because it symbolizes freedom, and I wrote that the sun shines on everybody. With regard to publications, when I was an officer, and also when I was a student, I used to write them with my own hand—especially when I was an officer—first, so that the officers to whom I handed the publications would be reassured, and second, so that I personally assumed responsibility. I did not want (?others to assume responsibility) because responsibility is a serious matter. How can you when you are an officer? They might arrest you for carrying out a secret action. This means a death sentence or life imprisonment, first, and expulsion from the army. Thus, I wanted to assume the responsibility personally because I was the one carrying out this action. I assumed responsibility in case there was any danger in it, just as is the case now [words indistinct]

Responsibility is still like this. And then, in order to encourage them and give them confidence, I personally, an officer, wrote the publications with my own hand and made copies (?with a stencil duplicator) and distributed them. This gave them confidence.

[Interviewer] The suffering and pain which you sometimes recall and suffered for long years, you and the soldiers you organized into the movement of free unionists, do you not fear that their goals will now be eliminated due to occasional unconsidered tolerance? And somehow, some people who are not generous and kind might appear? Do you not fear for our achievements and acquisitions as popular masses, which have achieved the revolution for which you worked hard and made, for its freedom, its glory, its progress, and its march on its land?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] There is no fear. It is as if the great slogan put forward now in Libya is: Laissez-faire; laissez-passer. [Let it go; let it pass.]

[Interviewer] That means: Let it go and let it pass. [words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] That is a famous slogan in a foreign language, (?known to) all the educated: Let it go; let it pass. Even so, it does not mean that the results ensuing [words indistinct]; let someone exploit the others; let him strip the others of their freedom. Others have the right to (?commit injustices). Let them rule over others. And others have the right to stage a sit-in or strike in protest. But, here one can only operate without exploiting others. In fact, one should not fear this. It confirms the new jamahiri theory, the era of the masses, and the new socialism. There is no fear for the gains of socialism. One might think that this is a relinquishing of socialism or of the revolutionary program. No, no, on the contrary, what happened before was not an implementation of the Green Book. I think that what is taking place now is implementation of the Green Book.

Before, we used to imitate traditional forms taken from the nationalist regimes—in the Third World in particular—which had failed. State capitalism has failed; private sector capitalism of the superpowers, which are currently suffering a crisis, has failed. The Third World used to have a form of socialism under the shadow of nationalist rule [word indistinct], but it was stumbling and did not solve the problem. When its [word indistinct] to capitalism fails once and for all, [word indistinct] state capitalism.

Now, the practical implementation of the Green Book is taking place. It is the fear of the private supplier, for example, or this small merchant. Someone would say that this is commerce and exploitation, and you would say about commerce what Malik [founder of one of the four Islamic denominations] said about wine. It is true that commerce still equals exploitation and profit is exploitation too, and admitting it is the same as admitting exploitation.

But, what is currently taking place is not at all alarming. Nor does it lead to (?exploitation). First, the people's markets exist and will prove their worth in the future. The merchant being next door, people will understand the meaning of the voice of the people. The customers exist; they will be laborers; they will have socialist interests.

In addition to the people's market there are quality consumer associations belonging to their founders only. These do not involve any exploitation. People gather money, purchase (?goods), put them in a place, and sell by themselves.

There are markets or stores belonging to public institutions, such as, say, the Jihad Fund, which invests our money in a market, and the income from this goes to the Jihad Fund. The Islamic call, for example, founds [sentence unfinished]. The international platform sets up a market and the income from this market belongs to it. Any institution sets up a market and the income of that market belongs to it. This does not involve any exploitation or any profit going into some private person's pocket.

Last, there are the private suppliers, whose number is limited in every municipality depending on need. This will naturally be limited as long as those institutions are beside the private suppliers. External trade is in the hands of society, and so is internal supply. This did, in fact, solve a bottleneck situation because people used to stand in line in public markets, which do not cover all the Jamahiriyah. The private supplier is everywhere now. There are no longer any goods which [words indistinct].

Then, let the Libyans who want workers from Tunisia or Egypt on their farms [words indistinct]. What matters is that your effort is not lost. There is no fear. Your effort is not lost. Even if you set up a cafe—I know that work

in cafes is nonproductive work; a hairdresser is nonproductive; a baker is nonproductive. I have mentioned this so many times. What matters is this: If it is a compulsory service, it means that the bakery does not work for someone else; that the cafe does not work for an owner who is staying at home. [passage as heard] No, the cafe is yours and the work is yours. The most important thing is that you yourself should have the fruits of your efforts. The producer should be able to consume his product; you should have the fruits of any effort which you have exerted to produce goods or services. This is the new socialism because anyone would have the fruits of his efforts. This is justice and equality. This is also socialism, without a doubt, as here there is no place for exploitation. Furthermore, the basic people's congresses have adopted and will adopt bills against exploitation. It is not possible for someone to rent out a house to someone else because he would be breaking Law No 4. Also, if someone with a farm hires a wage earner to cultivate instead of having a partner, the latter can always seek a writ against the former and his right as partner should be accorded to him. Thus, if you have a farm and I join you in order to work with you on it, I should be considered as your partner [words indistinct]. Your house should be returned to you.

[Interviewer] It seems to me that within the framework of the need for continued coexistence between the old culture and the new culture of the jamahiri society—as well as what one can say given that the old culture is still stronger than the new jamahiri culture—the aforementioned might lead to an attempt to distort even the procedural forms which have so far been adopted. However, your excellency has already stated that what is now being implemented is a true and correct embodiment of the Green Book. On the other hand, given the prevailing cultural situation, this might jeopardize a number of society's revolutionary orientations, particularly those related to the transformation of society to a producer society, from a consumer society to a producer one. We can see now a frenzied envy of the position of the individual distributor. It is taking place to the detriment of the innovations which the Libyan is beginning to show in various artisan and producer occupations. Many people are now leaving artisan occupations for services, particularly the distribution service.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Well, well, I know what you mean. I had in mind that we set up a producer state and an exemplary producer society. [words indistinct] so you may now do whatever you wish in a country in which freedom prevails. You are free even from exploitation. There is no exploitation, no repression, no abuse, no government. The people govern themselves. Whether the people produce or not, I myself had hoped that all of us would go into production and learn to be craftsmen. I have, however, found that it is difficult for some people to plant a tree and wait for it at least a full year [words indistinct]. Social backwardness is of a subduing nature, like senility, which is hard to overcome. It has to go full cycle. Social backwardness cannot be ended by decree. It will not end with time.

I have already spelled out everything that can help in creating a producer society; how the family should gain self-sufficiency from its own garden and not buy anything from the market, and I have even told how the relevant institutions will furnish the necessary tools to plant trees and for husbandry. You just have to go to these institutions for your needs to be met. This provided new orientation for production at the beginning, but at the same time it was accompanied by shortages, scarcity, lines, propaganda, and people who would only look after their own interest. [words indistinct] [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] What is the function, in the current situation, of the movement, the movement of the revolutionary committees?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] It has not changed. It is pro-people, safeguarding their freedom (?so that it becomes) a popular revolution. We are now more in need of the revolutionary committees than ever before. The need for the revolutionary committees is more than ever before. We even want to prove, as the revolution—which is pro-freedom—proved to us. We want to prove that the revolutionary comittees are the allies of the people, that they are biased toward the people...

[Second interviewer interrupts] They become allied...

[Al-Qadhdhafi interrupts] They are not, as the people in prison and the people abroad say, the enemies of the people, and the...[changes thought] If there are excesses like this, and it is possible that some people may have been imprisoned and [words indistinct] and they may even have died because of this. This is not revolutionary. Perhaps this is the first time that this has been said: For your information, the revolutionary court sentenced to death, and the sentence was implemented, a number of revolutionaries because they damaged the message of the revolutionary committees. Possibly this is the first time that such talk has been heard. As far as we [words indistinct] revolutionaries, we consider them revolutionary, but they deviated in conduct or in ideology, especially their conduct.

[Interviewer] The movement, the question of movement...

[Al-Qadhdhafi interrupts] Deviated—they deviated, harmed, tortured; they did...[changes thought] and the revolutionary court sentenced them to physical liquidation. They were liquidated in accordance with Leaflet No 1.

[Interviewer] Leaflet No 1?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] It suffices [words indistinct] Leaflet No 1. No one has immunity [words indistinct] at all if he deviated. The revolutionary does not practice repression. On the contrary, I want to prove that the committees—the movement of revolutionary committees—are

lovers of the masses, that they are biased in favor of freedom and they support my resolutions. They should now sharpen and prove their presence more than at any time in the past.

[Interviewer] The revolutionary committees cannot be biased in favor of tourism abroad. What is their relationship to freedom?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] First, tourism (?internally). If tourism were, if tourism were...

[Interviewer interrupts] (?Not internal tourism).

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Oh, abroad, you mean? Libyans go abroad? Not only [words indistinct]. It is a question of consciousness, as they say, social consciousness. When Libyans take their money and go abroad, causing a loss to their country as a result, and when they should not go abroad so as to save hard currency they themselves [word indistinct]. But, if the consciousness of Libyans has not reached this degree [words indistinct]. The Central Bank (?does not want) tourism abroad. [laughter] [Words indistinct] revolutionary committees. [laughter] But, this is a question of consciousness. [passage omitted]

[Female interviewer] [Words indistinct] measures of the people's congresses. [Words indistinct] direct something to the congresses as regards the process of legalizing what has happened [words indistinct] the issue of freedom. [words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [words indistinct] It has been confirmed that the revolutionary resolutions which I drew up have become legal [words indistinct], freedom, in a permanent form. It is possible that a document could be drawn up about this in the era of the masses, which shows human rights, its sacredness, freedom. We will prove to the world that it is the revolutionary committees which defend human rights and that whoever (?parts with) Libya is not a true revolutionary. Not everyone who belongs to the revolutionary committees is a revolutionary. Not all of these people who are present are necessarily revolutionaries. But, that does not mean that the philosophy of the revolutionary committees is wrong. The philosophy is 100 percent correct. The revolutionary committees movement is like the Free Unionist Officers movement. I would not have been able to [words indistinct] before 1969 without the committees of free unionist officers, which were in every military division. Likewise, we cannot now continue with the revolutionary program without a revolutionary committee in every basic people's congress. It is not possible if somebody says [words indistinct] revolutionary committees. This is (?deception). It is not possible. You cannot go ahead without revolutionary committees. If somebody says that the revolutionary committees are an assault on people and are...[changes thought] that is also incorrect. Never! That is not [words indistinct] an assault on people.

[Interviewer] Leader, the congresses might meet and, for example, might see it in their interests not to fully obey your request to completely cancel the death penalty. And they might consider it in their interest to restrict the freedom of some people once they, I mean, begin to do a particular harm to the masses, to their interests, or the interests of...[changes thought] How did this issue (?come about)?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Freedom is to the masses. [words indistinct] The first time [words indistinct] it was a long time ago, some years, when I suggested to the people's [words indistinct]

[Interviewer] And they rejected it.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I believe in the saying: Only the Creater has the power to end life. This saying [words indistinct] who created life has power to end it. I was disgusted by the death penalty when I saw the people's congresses during the month of Ramadan some time ago executing [words indistinct] with ropes and things. The truth is that I was disgusted by it. [words indistinct] The method used by the people's congresses to execute [words indistinct]. They had committed crimes and they did, indeed, deserve to die. But, when I saw how the masses just came along like that and executed, hanged, somebody with a rope at a soccer stadium in...[changes thought] I was indeed disgusted by it and I surely ceased to believe in it. I am against this penalty. Execution by firing squad—military style—is more honorable, but it all interferes in the life...[changes thought] What I can see for a particular period, of course, is that it might not be acceptable to those who carry arms, those who are under arms and fighting. The truth is [words indistinct]. It might not be acceptable that when a soldier runs away or [words indistinct] he is not executed, according to military laws [words indistinct]. But, I know there could be some issues which affect the congresses—conspiracy or clandestine activity [words indistinct] U.S. intelligence, Egyptian intelligence, which is tied to the Israelis. The penalty for that is death. It is treason. I think that treason should always carry the death penalty. But he [as heard] is against the death penalty.

[Interviewer] Because it is a threat to the life of others; it damages life itself, the value of life per se. But the death penalty remains necessary when the life of others is endangered?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] By God, I do not know [words indistinct]. I am suggesting the cancellation of this penalty. I am against it and disgusted by it and...

[Interviewer interrupts] Always!

[Al-Qadhdhafi] But the congresses are free to decide what they want. It is not the first time that I have suggested something that was then rejected by the people's congresses.

[Female interviewer] Do you not think that an historical fallacy has begun to reverberate in one way or the other, that is, the claim that the day of freedom is 3 March?

[Unidentified voice] No, the day of freedom is [words indistinct].

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [words indistinct] The day of freedom is 1 September 1969. [passage omitted]

[Female interviewer] [words indistinct] March 3, the historical event of liberating the prisoners and demolishing the prison, as an explosion in the revolution. What does an explosion in the revolution mean?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [Laughter] It is a military expression. [passage omitted] These activating charges mean that each time one explodes, then another...

[Interviewer interrupts] Is it in order to increase the speed or increase the force?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, yes, especially [words indistinct]. This operation is like the operation of the revolution, but has activating charges one after the other. It is one of the stages of the escalation of the revolution. This means that the students' revolution is an explosion; the workers' 1978 is an explosion; the 7 April is an explosion. The explosion of activating charges in order to escalate the revolution. What took place on 2 March is [words indistinct].

[Interviewer] This means that the successive cries for freedom which you used to make at every stage of the revolutionary escalation indicated your determination, and indeed your attachment, to the principles which you set out to achieve 30 years ago. But, as a person, I still need many clarifications in order to know what these political forces are that you pardoned? How did you know them and what is your knowledge of them? Are they indeed forces which indeed deserve pardon?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] No, no, they cannot be called forces. The group which we saw in prison was brought together by the prison only. At times, they were three people who conspired together, or two who conspired together, or one person got ten into trouble, a confused person on his own. No, they are not political forces categorically: one who uttered a curse; another who [words indistinct]; one who wrote [words indistinct]; one who took money from a party abroad, from a foreign state; one who deserted from the army. Indeed, one of them was a deserter.

[Interviewer] But there is a group which had conspired against you personally; conspired to kill?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, but this is not politics. We do not consider this a political action. These are not political forces at all. This is an assassination plot and I pardoned them, and I am confident that they will not try to kill me. Even when I came they did not kill me. This is a known incident [words indistinct]. One had a handgun and he had several agents who had knives. He told them when he arrived at [words indistinct] at night: I will shoot him and you attack the guard accompanying him with knives. I entered. He had his gun and he [words indistinct]. He forgot himself and said he did not come on a mission. [laughs] The matter was discovered and he, an officer, deserted the army and then he himself came and said: I (?plotted) and got some people into trouble with me. Who are those people? He said so and so and so. They were arrested.

[Interviewer] He voluntarily admitted this?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] He himself did this. Indeed, this is a trivial matter.

[Interviewer] But Leader, this has never happened in history. Even if it is compared with the Al-Tulaqa [citizens of Mecca who remained heathen] incident, I do not believe it is true. The Prophet, God's peace and prayers upon him, when he conquered Mecca he pardoned the people of Quraysh who were hostile to him, and this happened even when the Al-Fatih Revolution took place. The royalist regime was not brought to account. We spoke about Sayf al-Nasr. The period after the revoution can be considered a stage of the Al-Tulaqa. None of the men of the royalist era, despite their misdeeds, whether general ones against the Libyan people or against you personally, were brought to account for them. They were told: Go, you are free, whether it was Sayf al-Nasr or others. But this incident did not take place: A strong revolution decided to free those people. It is possible that the great majority of them [words indistinct], but the great majority indeed conspired against the revolution, against the people's authority; conspired against you personally. This has not come out of a vacuum. Leader, is it possible for you to explain to the masses of the people's conference how to prevent a recurrence of this action. The people will not need someone to pardon—a free people who have founded the Jamahiriyah and established the authority of the people's conference. How can it prevent people from hatching plots in this or that manner against them, whether on their own or in cooperation with the outside, and this is [word indistinct]?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] The guarantees should be constitutionally confirmed. The Libyan people will sit during the month of Ramadan and write the guarantees of its individuals [words indistinct] and incriminate unacceptable actions. These include secret actions, the resort to force, dealing with the outside, treason and plotting, the exloitation of religion, because some of these newspapers exploit religion. Religion will be endangered if it becomes like a football game, with various groups exploiting it. One group is called Muslim Brothers, another the Islamic Liberation Front, another Al-Jihad, another [word indistinct]. Suppose I am a politician. Let it be said I am a politician and I have a political dogma. As for religion, no! Religion belongs to all of us. But

political dogma concerns you alone. You believe in it. As for religion, and Islam in particular, it concerns us all; do not play with it. Make it a party and exclude me. And you, in the name of Islam, can go and make... [incomplete sentence as heard] Among the things that should be banned is the encroachment of religion. He who encroaches upon religion is a sinner and punisnment of the sinner is stated in the religion. He who employs religion in politics exploits it, encroaches upon it. Religion is the dogma of us all and we do not allow anyone to play with it.

I see freedom as the guarantee because when people become free, and are certain of it, they become good people and crimes, even ordinary crimes, disappear. But this does not mean that all people become angels. I have said that even 'Umar al-Khattab had ruled justly, but was later killed. Even if 99 percent of the people were with him, it was still possible for the 1 percent to kill. They killed 'Uthman; they called Ghandi; they killed Robespierre; killed Danton; killed [word indistinct]. Those were all [words indistinct] important killed. Christ [words indistinct]. There was no one more prominent than these people. They were all messengers.

Evil exists. It is in conflict with good. We are not so naive as to say that evil no longer exists. But, because of this we should clarify the acts of evil and that the one who commits them is evil, and what punishment the jamahiri society will impose on him. Each one can be responsible for his own actions. If we catch someone tomorrow we apply this punishment to him. We gave you freedom and we said: This is an evil action. You committed it, thus you are an evil person. We said: This is an evil action. You committed it, thus you are an evil person and this is your punishment. Go and appeal to any court and say this man committed an evil action. Everyone is free to defend himself. It was not confirmed that he had committed an evil act. We incriminated him and he seems evil. So, what is the punishment for this evil man? What is the punishment for this traitor? Because we said: This is treason, and the one who commits it becomes a traitor. What is the punishment for the traitor? It is so and so. That is it [word indistinct] one is free afterwards. This is like hell and paradise. You can take this path or you can take the other path.

Take any political action, what does it mean now? It is meaningless. One takes authority from the people. Well, the people decide on the punishment of whoever tries to steal authority from them. As for the previous attempts, I considered them to be attempts to steal the revolution. As I have told you, I built the revolution brick by brick, with sweat, sleepless nights, study, tears, and suffering, and consequently I pardoned those who tried to steal it because it is now no longer in danger of being stolen. It has now become the people's authority, the Jamahiriyah. He who steals it now steals the Jamahiriyah, steals the authority of the people, and this has now become the responsibility of the people. He who steals the people's authority steals the Jamahiriyah. The people will decide his punishment and will decide the way he should be arrested and the way he should be treated. But, today we consider the past and the people I freed are my personal responsibility. I felt they had tried to steal my effort, to steal the work which I and my colleagues did without the Libyan people knowing about it. And they themselves did not know about it. Some were in the United States, others were in Egypt, some of them were [words indistinct], some were drinking alcohol, some of them used to sing, some did not know and hoped that the monarchy would continue. They spent the nights with the Americans, with the Italians, while we were working for the expulsion of the Italians, the Americans, the English; the end of arbitrary rule; the elimination of the monarchy; the restoration of the oil to the Libyans; raising the price of oil from $1 to $40; to build homes, farms, schools, hospitals; and to allow the people to carry arms.

This is the revolutionary program, the result of the revolution about which I spoke. When the rain fell on me in the back of the vehicle, when I used to fall asleep while driving and the vehicle would overturn in a ditch, when they brought the arrest warrant for me without my knowing of this, when I was deprived of my family and they were deprived of me. And instead of spending the holiday with them, I used to go and plan the revolution, organize cells, and write the leaflets with my own hands—actions which lead to execution. All of this suffering was for the sake of the revolution, which has achieved the revolutionary program. And we feel those people tried to steal this action on which I used to work day and night. And none of the Libyans were aware of it. Even those people were not aware of it. Subsequently, I pardoned them because they tried to steal my effort and I was able to defeat them, thanks to God. They were sentenced to death or life imprisonment. They paid the price of treason. I was sorry that they had wronged me, wronged themselves. They even wronged Libya.

Now we have corrected this as though nothing had happened. A new page was turned as far as I am concerned. You were on the verge of falling into the fire, but God has saved you from it. I consider them to be born again, and, in fact, they have recognized this and have said: We are born again. I consider them to be newly born. And I consider them to be close to me and I know that if I give weapons, by God, to all those I freed, it is still possible for a person not among them to assassinate me. Even to those who want to assassinate me, I am willing to give weapons and [words indistinct]. I would have liked to give them arms and live ammunition on the day I freed them from prison and walked in their midst.

[Interviewer] What is the source of this confidence?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I am confident of myself, confident of the measures I have taken, and I am confident that if you reach the positive side of man, he becomes a great man. But sometimes, authority, the individual, and circumstances destroy the positive side of man and encourage

the negative side. Man is pushed sometimes. Man can be deceived or misled. Many of them were misled. By God, many of them were misled. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] Leader, during preparations for the revolution, before the Great Al-Fatih, did you contact any of those who later tried to usurp the revolution and try to draw up a program with them?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Of course, earlier I gave for you three examples of people. One category is those who were arrested after the revolution and because I knew them I freed them and told them: Go, you are free. This concerns a group of officers. Regrettably, they plotted again afterwards and I recently freed them for the second time. I would like to say to you: Did I not release so and so after the revolution while you were in prison? He was arrested after the revolution, one of the officers who were arrested. And I heard of this after a period and freed them and told them: Go, you are free; consider yourselves with us in the revolution. You were with me at Gar Yunis. After a period of time they plotted again and they are still paying the price of that conspiracy. Now, I have freed them for a second time so that [words indistinct].

Another category is of one who knew me before the revolution—how I used to plan and what I did when the Libyan people were not aware of what I was doing—although he was not with me in the movement and I was not with him. But we talked and I proposed to him what he planned to do, what I was planning. But he did not join me for political reasons, which concern him alone.

Another category is he who took part in the revolution, but had prior knowledge of this historic action only from [words indistinct] between [words indistinct] September 1969. And perhaps he did something against the revolution, but he says: This story from 1959 to 1969, all this suffering, this rain, this torture, the sleepless nights, [words indistinct]—I did not know of this and indeed it seems that I was trying to steal something very serious to which, perhaps, I have no right. [words indistinct] And how he was trusted and how he then failed himself and failed us. Maybe you could add something we do not know. I recall when I got in touch with you in 1967. I do not know who introduced you to me.

[Interviewer] Dr Madani.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Which Madani? Madani Siddiq?

[Interviewer] Yes.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I see, Madani Siddiq. Did you come to see me or did I go to see you?

[Interviewer] Do you want me to remind you?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, please remind me. I remember I was in your car and I drove you out of the barracks at Gar Yunis, and we sat. It was a stormy day.

[Interviewer] Dr Madani arranged the meeting. It was the first meeting which you attended at the Damascus Cafe. Then I waited for you at the cafe and the doctor came and told me that you were not coming because I believe there was a state of alert at the barracks. He also said: Brother Mu'ammar will meet you behind the wall of the barracks. He gave me the description of the car and its registration number. That is how I met you. I sat next to you in the car and you took me on a ride.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] In my car?

[Interviewer] Yes your car. It was a VW.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I remember what I told you then. I told you: I know that you are a member of a party and the issue is not about the party and it has nothing to do with what I am going to ask from you. Where you work is not my concern either. I told you: If there are youths with you, bring them along and we will train them because we, as military people, would like to carry out operations against the British troops in Banghazi, at a barracks called [name indistinct] and at another barracks called [name indistinct]. These were all British barracks. So I told you: If you have youths in your group, bring them to us and let us train them in the use of weapons, and we military people will be behind them to prepare them to carry out operations against the British forces. I told you: I see no objection in receiving support from a political group, but this talk had nothing to do with a party. [words indistinct]

I will tell you my side of the story and what I know of the (?operations). I was later informed by (Muhammad al-Tabu) [words indistinct]. I told them that there was a lieutenant and would you please take him in [words indistinct]. The person who was carrying the note you had written was searched on the road between Sabhah and Juhrah. When he saw that the cars in front were being searched he tore up the paper. [words indistinct]

[Interviewer] I would like to briefly add something. In reality we were not organized. We were individuals and, though we knew one another, there were no links between us. The party was in a state of disintegration. The organization which existed had dwindled for a number of reasons, one of which was the fact that some of those who were in the party leadership undertook liberal professions and gave up their jobs when the oil wealth arrived. [words indistinct] Of course I was not in that group, but I was still an employee.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] No, there were people like Sharaf al-Din and the man who was under secretary at the Oil Ministry. What was his name? [words indistinct] One was

made under secretary at the Oil Ministry and another was under secretary at the Housing Ministry. Yes, it was at the time of the monarchy in 1967. It was a Ba'thist party group.

[Interviewer] I did write, but Dr Madani had given me a clear idea about you. Among the things he told me was the fact that you were indeed organizing something. Once he visited me at the radio station in March, as I remember, and I explored the radio station at Banghazi. Even after the outbreak of the revolution, he was still in Banghazi and he told me that the banner of this revoluion was brother so and so. In other words, I had prior knowledge of you and your activities and so on. In fact, on our part at least, we were very anxious not to implicate you in anything so as not to put you in any danger.

We were under suspicion and the intelligence service, in small numbers, was concentrating on some people and was following their activities. We did not want our connection with you to put you in any danger from the security forces of the monarchy. When I said that so and so got in touch and he wants such and such, I was all in favor of the idea. But you were transferred to Tripoli and this is what essentially broke the link between you and me.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, it is true what he says. Yes, they transferred me to Tripoli and they contained me, and consequently the program failed.

[Interviewer] But I was personally enthusiastic about the whole thing because you said: We military people are prepared to supply you with the ammunition and weapons and to train you in order to carry out operations against British barracks.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, I was a second lieutenant.

[Interviewer] And I even opposed the stand of the monarchy then with regard to the aggression.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Indeed. Musa was a Lieutenant Colonel and I was a second lieutenant, and officers of the Military Academy were training me.

We planned to execute the revolution in March 1969, but this was postponed, as you know. After the postponement of the revolution, I became more daring and began to speak to other ranks, to get them to join the revolution, expecting good from them. Among those from whom I expected good was brother Musa. I knew him at college; he was an officer and trained us. I knew his inclinations in general, despite the great difference in rank between him and myself: lieutenant and lieutenant colonel. I went to him and spoke to him. I do not know whether the meeting took place in Susah or at [words indistinct]. We had lunch with him at home. Indeed, he told me: Despite the fact that I am a lieutenant colonel, since you are in this I am with you. He feared the late Muhammad [name indistinct] and said: He is related to [words indistinct]. Then I said to him: No, this brother is a revolutionary officer and he is with us. I remember he said: The world is fine [words indistinct].

Then I contacted him again in Al-Marj, until one day I told him that we had an important meeting in Tripoli and after we finished it, I would come to him and tell him about it. They put him in the compulsory service committees at Al-Bayda. I came to him on Friday, together with Mustapha al-Kharrubi, at his home at Al-Bayda and he said: Did the meeting take place? I said to him: We met. What happened, he asked? I told him: We decided on the revolution. He thought that the matter was in its beginning stages and that the revolution would take place in 5 years or so. But the revolution was scheduled for the day after, Sunday. Indeed, Brother Musa was surprised. He said: How come? I said: This action was planned years ago, 10 years ago, and we planned to stage the revolution last March. [words indistinct] He said: Is it certain that the revolution will take place? What is your strength? I told him: We have committees in all units and we have total control of the enemy. There is nothing to fear. Be assured that we will carry it out. He was touched and [words indistinct].

We are talking as an introduction to the emergency meeting of the basic people's conferences in order to confirm the revolutionary decisions which I took, to make them permanent, to safeguard freedom and confirm it, so that people will no longer fear for themselves and [word indistinct]. So that the people themselves will decide on the criminality of these actions. Why should the revolutionary committees incriminate people? Why should so and so incriminate people; or the army incriminate people; or intelligence incriminate people? The people should decide if this is treason, if this is a crime, if this is so and so, and the punishment for this is so and so. That is it. Decide who should follow it up and its legal procedures so that the people may feel assured. [words indistinct]

Another category was all the people who did nothing. We used to struggle against British imperialism, American imperialism, even before the revolution. We used to carry out operations of this nature, and Brother (Farid Ashrafah) is a witness. [words indistinct] Brother Musa used to be a very senior officer in the army with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He entered the action with us toward the end, but he had no knowledge that the story began in 1959, or of our suffering [words indistinct] and how people thought of usurping this action; how they tried to jump on the bandwagon of the revolution. I do not know how some tripped and how things happened. Some people harmed themselves, harmed their health, their age, their families. They left nothing positive. They left pain for us and for themselves. Indeed, anyone who did anything after the revolution in order to usurp it or harm it, left nothing positive at all but suffering for himself, for us, and for his relatives. He obstructed himself and was destroyed in prison. What positive

action is there in conspiring against the revolution? [Word indistinct] there are three types of people, each type different from the other. However, they are useful as far as [word indistinct] we are concerned; we who are talking about them. If you were not present it is possible that some people would say there was no one who was released from prison, and then conspire against those who freed them [words indistinct] I recall Azuz, Husayn, Saddiq, Makki, and those who were with them. I released them from prison. They were under detention and I freed them. And I told them [word indistinct] with this same expression and afterwards they conspired [words indistinct]. (?If you were not present) some people might say there were not such things, that there was not such a background or story.

[At this point Al-Qadhdhafi apparently addresses somebody who presumably participated in the revolution] Do you not recall anything? Do you not recall when we came to you [word indistinct], Mustafa and me?

[Unidentified person] Is it the Mustafa who killed Kharrubi just a day before the revolution?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes.

[Unidentified person] Because it was only the day before the revolution that you informed us of the movement.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] That is what I was talking about.

[Unidentified person] When you talked to me after 28 March, you talked about who was in the group of 28 March. I asked you: What is the reason, because (?there must be) some people with you who are not serious or not this or not that? I remember you told me: Even if there were two people and we are [words indistinct]. Naturally, at that time I had confirmation that the operation was not easy. One might [words indistinct]. He told me: No, there are these two whom we have discarded and that is it. I continued with them. [words indistinct] Several meetings in fact. However, in 1969, I do not know anything before that. Even if I was in some organizations, they were failed organizations. Previously [words indistinct]. However, the movement, [words indistinct] in reality and I went along with them and played a modest role. When you found me in (Sousse) I told you [words indistinct]. This is the whole reality. I do not claim that [words indistinct] never. This is the reality.

[Unidentified speaker] Leader, I have a simple comment to make here. I was hoping that you would be our president or our secretary when you fully believed in the ideas of the Ba'th Party. It does not matter if I say that to you now. [laughter] I hoped that you would personally lead us, despite the fact that I was in another organization. I hoped that a person with dynamism, with creative thinking, with all the (things) which you enjoy, would lead this organization—not only at the Libyan level, but even at the pan-Arab level because several members of the Ba'th Party that I knew, young honest people, most of them making sacrifices, whether they were in Jordan or Iraq, during the days of...[sentence unfinished as heard] Afterward, the deviation or the mistake which occured was a clash with the late Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir in reality. I tell you the truth. You might be surprised [words indistinct]. When we were working we were not...[unfinished sentence as heard]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Has anybody else got anything to say?

[Female interviewer] On the occasion of the presence now of Brother [name indistinct] and Brother Musa, let us recall what took place on 3 March and ask: Was there anything which had an effect on you the day the prisoners were freed, especially since there were among them people with whom you had some link? [laughter from Al-Qadhdhafi]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I cried just like others when I heard. And as much as I suffered, that suffering that I told you about, my will power was affected when I was a student [words indistinct]. This standpoint had an effect on me. I remember really that the song had an effect on me. [sentence as heard] Whenever I read the words of this song I feel tears coming to my eyes.

One of the prisoners, Musa, in fact—when he left prison he came to the tractor and came to greet me. This had an effect on me as I did not recognize him because his face had changed. I was very touched. I had expected to see him just as I knew him before. When Abdallah told me this is Musa, I was really very touched. I was very moved, in fact, and I embraced him. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] [words indistinct] Sorry for bothering you. We have bothered you a little.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] No, no, you are welcome, and all the best. [words indistinct]

Sudan

SPLA Criticizes Government on Famine Relief

LD0300191800 (Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in English 1300 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] The Sudan is virtually daily in the world major news media. The reason is that most of the news items are bad ones; namely, war and its attendants—death, political instability, the economy at the brink of total collapse, and wooing of the country by foreign countries in the Arab world.

These misfortunes afflicting our country and its people, as expected, constitute the stock in trade of journalism. No doubt these problems are real and immense in magnitude and cause suffering to human beings, mostly innocent ones.

However, one of the most outstanding tragedies facing our country is the plight of the citizens fleeing from famine caused by drought and death and death from the Khartoum government-sponsored tribal militia.

In the face of these serious calamities, the able-bodied citizens trekked to safety in places to find shelter and food outside their country. The last 3 years have witnessed an unusual exodus of the people from the southern Sudan to the western part of Ethiopia where the UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations have tried to minimize the suffering of these innocent citizens of the world.

Certainly, there is abundance of good will on the side of some countries' nongovernmental organizations and individuals, but there are serious obstacles to grapple with.

The influx of the refugees is on the increase and there is no sign of decline in sight since the solution will come when the root causes, specially war, are satisfactorily removed. [passage omitted]

How could the suffering of these people be mitigated? In nearly every human activity there is direct or indirect involvement in politics. While accusations and counteraccusations from the warring parties are difficult to avoid, countries' nongovernmental organizations of goodwill are asked to come to the rescue of these unfortunate Sudanese.

As far as SPLM-SPLA is concerned about this issue to help the famine victims is clear [as heard]: channel relief items to the needy through those in concerned areas.

For instance, relief supplies donated to the victims in areas controlled by the SPLA should be channeled through the SRRA—Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association—while the starving in towns under the Khartoum government could pass through government agencies, provided that coordination is carried out between concerned bodies prior to the ferrying of relief items.

The reason is purely the security of the personnel conducting relief operations. The movement is also willing to permit independent bodies to check that the relief supplies so donated do not go to any of the warring Sudanese Army. If the issue is approached realistically, then it is not as very complicated as some are tempted to think.

It is only Khartoum which has turned this tragedy into a political instrument. The argument that by sending food, clothing, and medicines to the needy in SPLA-held areas would morally strengthen the movement is understandable.

The SPLM-SPLA does not trade on human misery, otherwise it would refuse granting permission to the delivery of food to the starving in the government-held towns.

The government is aware of the fact that the policy of starving the citizens under government-controlled towns is a wrong weapon. It is Khartoum which stands accused for obstructing the effort of relief agencies which intend to supply the people under the SPLA-controlled areas.

Khartoum's insistence on sovereignty is another way of saying: talking with the rebels even to save the lives of the people will diminish national sovereignty. It is a fallacious argument. It is the very starving people who are suffering.

Government Troops Kill 21 'Outlaws' in Clash

EA0305194588 Omdurman National Unity Radio in Arabic 1400 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] A large number of outlaws infiltrated into the Khawr al-Dhahab region of the Qaysan rural area last week. They clashed with a unit of the Armed Forces, which inflicted heavy losses on them.

Twenty-one outlaws were killed and 4 were captured. Many of the outlaws were wounded. It is known that the outlaws infiltrate to carry out armed robberies on the property of innocent citizens in the area.

200 Rebels Killed Near Waw

JN041205 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1059 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Khartoum, 4 May (SUNA)—More than 200 rebels were killed recently by the Armed Forces when the outlaws attacked an Armed Forces convoy on its way to Tonj, 18 km south of Waw. Twenty members of the Armed Forces, including a major, were martyred.

Citing unidentified sources, AL-AYYAM today reports that the Armed Forces convoy was proceeding toward Tonj with supplies for troops stationed in the area. They were suddenly attacked by a full battalion of outlaws that intercepted them.

The sources added that the Armed Forces inflicted heavy losses on the outlaws and compelled them to flee leaving behind 200 dead.

AL-AYYAM reports that the supply and food situation in Juba, Equatoria Province, has become bad and that minor skirmishes and looting have broken out on the city's outskirts.

Authorities Investigate 'Terrorist' Group

JN041205 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1030 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Khartoum, 4 May (SUNA)—In accordance with information from leaders in the Islamic National Front [NIF], the security authorities began investigations yesterday, Tuesday, of four Arab citizens with Syrian passports.

In the information they gave, the leaders said the four persons represent a terrorist group affiliated with a foreign power that is trying to carry out sabotage and assassination operations in Sudan and that NIF leaders head the list of those sought by the group.

The information says one member of the group was thoroughly surveilled. He arrived in the country 3 months ago and the three others arrived 3 days ago. The four were seen near the NIF center in Khartoum the night before last.

The newspaper AL-AYYAM published here this morning quoted some sources as saying members of the group were involved in the assassination of Mahdi al-Hakim, an Iraqi citizen who was assassinated during an NIF conference in Khartoum last January.

A senior security official told the paper it has not been confirmed whether the passports are fake. However, he explained that they had entered the country legally. He did not disclose the mission for which they came to Sudan, pointing out that any disclosure would damage the investigations.

Rabin Criticized for Not Informing Cabinet
TA0505145588 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1400 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Cabinet ministers have criticized the defense minister for failing to request Inner Cabinet approval for the IDF operation in Lebanon, leaving the task of informing them to the media. The prime minister's office responded to this criticism by saying that the IDF operation was routine and did not necessitate a special decision. Our political correspondent 'Oz Frankel brings further details on this affair:

[Begin recording] Why did we have to get word of the operation in Lebanon from the radio, television, and the press, cabinet ministers—including some Inner Cabinet members—asked last night. Why did the defense minister not present the planned operation before his colleagues in the cabinet plenum, or at least in the Inner Cabinet? How can we be expected to assume ministerial responsibility after this?

These complaints referred mainly to the combat waged by the IDF in Maydun, which is very close to Syrian lines in Lebanon. The criticism came from Likud and Alignment ministers alike. Minister 'Ezer Weizman protested to Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres yesterday. Other ministers, including Ari'el Sharon, expressed their deep dismay in messages to the prime minister and the defense minister. They also raised a matter of principle: What are the criteria, if any, guiding the defense establishment in seeking government approval for operations? In what cases is there no need to obtain a license?

Avi Pazner, the prime minister's media adviser, told us in reaction that the prime minister does not regard the IDF operation as subject for an internal debate. The operation was planned as a routine search mission inside and outside the security strip. Many similar operations have been conducted previously. Therefore, this one did not warrant a special decision. [end recording]

Shamir Unaware of 'Large Scale' of Lebanon Action
TA0605075988 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 6 May 88 pp A1, 2

[Report by Ilan Bakhar]

[Excerpts] "I did not know that the IDF was going to launch such a large-scale operation," Prime Minister Shamir told MA'ARIV yesterday, "but I feel no resentment toward the defense minister. This was a routine search operation that did not require the Inner Cabinet's approval." [passage omitted]

The prime minister added: "The IDF operated in the framework of the operations it conducts from time to time in and around the security zone to guarantee peace in the Galilee. All the goals the IDF set out to attain were achieved. Confrontations that cause casualties sometimes occur during such searches. This is not an issue for political argument. If need be, similar operations will be carried out."

Referring to the harsh criticism voiced by members of the Inner Cabinet who resented the fact that they were not informed about the operation, the prime minister said: "This is certainly not the kind of operation that requires the approval of the Inner Cabinet. I knew there was going to be a search, but I did not know it would be conducted on such a large scale." [passage omitted]

Shomron Interviewed on IDF Operation in Lebanon
TA0605093488 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Leshabat Supplement) in Hebrew 6 May 88 pp 1, 2, 18

[Interview with IDF Chief of Staff General Dan Shomron by Yesha'yahu Ben-Porat on 5 May in Tel Aviv]

[Excerpts] [Ben-Porat] Mr Chief of Staff, wasn't the Maydun operation a deviation from the original plan?

[Shomron] When I approved the plan for the operation, Maydun was included. Do you really think that such operations are done as a surprise, without being planned beforehand? Do you really believe this can be a last-minute improvisation? I am surprised at you.

[Ben-Porat] It can, however, be the result of a last-minute change. Such things have happened before.

[Shomron] There was no last-minute change. The plan I submitted to the defense minister included two parts and was aimed at one thing: the security zone. Recently there have been many infiltrations, in several of which the terrorists spent 1 night in the security zone before actually reaching the border fence. If terrorists can spend a night in the area and obtain help, the security zone is losing its value and is not fulfilling its aims.

[Ben-Porat] Is this situation a recent development?

[Shomron] No, it happened long ago. The eastern sector of the security zone is very broad. It is impossible to pass through it in 1 night. During the day it is very dangerous for them to move there, and therefore they spend the night. We have caught quite a few squads inside the security zone before they managed to reach the border. The aim of the operation's two parts was to preserve the security zone.

[Ben-Porat] Can you define the purpose of the first stage?

[Shomron] To move between the villages in the eastern sector and tell the residents that for their own good they should not cooperate with the terrorists, not allow them to stay with them during the night, not to harbor them or aid them in any way. Otherwise we will not allow them to lead normal lives.

[Ben-Porat] Did we succeed in doing this?

[Shomron] I am sure it had an impact, but it is hard for me to say to what extent. [passage omitted]

[Ben-Porat] What is the connection between the first stage, which was meant to warn the inhabitants, and the second: the battle in Maydun?

[Shomron] The second stage was aimed at hitting armed forces which endanger the security zone.

[Ben-Porat] In this instance the armed forces were Hizballah. In what way did they trouble us?

[Shomron] Let me show you on the map: Maydun, a well-fortified place, controls the whole area. From here the Hizballah squads launched attacks on the South Lebanese Army [SLA]. They also posed a danger to the communication line between Marj 'Uyun and Jazzin in the north. After they expelled all the residents from Maydun they did the same to residents from other villages.

[Ben-Porat] In light of this explanation I doubt whether the public will be convinced that the operation—for which we paid such a high price—was really necessary.

[Shomron] The public has to realize that this too was an operation meant to preserve the security zone.

[Ben-Porat] Would it be more accurate to say that it was meant to preserve the SLA?

[Shomron] Not at all. The SLA is part of the concept of the security zone, which is meant to guard our border and ensure the security of the north. We have always maintained that when the security zone is threatened the IDF would have to intervene, and in this case that is exactly what happened.

[Ben-Porat] Couldn't the SLA on its own carry out this operation?

[Shomron] Absolutely not. We were dealing with a strong and well-fortified force. In Maydun they built an advance Hizballah battle position.

[Ben-Porat] As far as I know Hizballah has never attacked us, nor have they ever sent squads to infiltrate the Galilee.

[Shomron] It is true that no Hizballah squad has ever crossed our border, but their squads have attacked both SLA and IDF soldiers in the security zone.

[Ben Porat] Even recently?

[Shomron] If I search I would be able to give you details and dates. They attack both us and the SLA, and they state this openly.

[Ben-Porat] Has the Maydun operation not opened a new battlefront against us?

[Shomron] I sincerely hope not. We must ask what the alternative is. Without our operation the situation might have become even worse.

[Ben-Porat] When it was decided to carry out the operation was this danger of a new front taken into consideration?

[Shomron] Certainly.

[Ben-Porat] On Monday evening, when we launched the operation, did you tell yourself: Let us see how things develop and only then will we decide whether to attack Maydun?

[Shomron] Absolutely not. Maydun was planned from the beginning as the second stage of the operation. [passage omitted]

[Ben-Porat] One gets the feeling that in this operation we violated a veto, perhaps a U.S. veto, not to attack Hizballah.

[Shomron] There was never such a general veto. There were certain areas where we were not sure if prisoners were hidden. Therefore we had to be cautious. There was never a veto. [passage omitted]

[Ben-Porat] Now that the operation is over can you specify exactly which forces participated?

[Shomron] It was a small force, composed mainly of infantry, including a reinforced armored company. The number of soldiers did not exceed several hundred. [passage omitted]

[Ben-Porat] Mr Chief of Staff, we were very close to the Syrian lines. This is obviously a dangerous situation. Was this taken into consideration? There were even rumors concerning a Syrian threat.

[Shomron] It is very hard to confront rumors. There was no Syrian threat. We did not approach the Syrian forces. There was only a small advance Syrian force there. Let me show you the map again. The shortest distance between our most advanced forces and the most advanced Syrian position was at least twice the 1 and 1/2 km mentioned in the rumors.

I was in the area all the time and I took care to prevent even an accidental escalation. There could have been a misunderstanding, the Syrians could have interpreted it as an attempt to attack them. At that critical juncture and to prevent an escalation, therefore, I was on the spot the entire day. You can even see my suntan. I supervised

the targets at which our soldiers fired. It is true we destroyed Hizballah and Lebanese Army artillery positions very close to the Syrian line, but we took care not to harm the Syrians.

[Ben-Porat] Did we inform the Syrians about our intentions?

[Shomron] We told them nothing. The Syrians, however, are familiar with our intentions. They have years of experience and were not alarmed. They knew we had no intention of harming them. They saw what the focus of the operation was, and perhaps they are not fed by rumors to the extent our media is. There was no formal message to them and no such message was necessary. The nature of our operation itself was the message. The danger of an escalation was therefore very slim. All this was taken into consideration during the planning stage. [passage omitted]

SLA Troops Kill 'Gunmen' Returning to Maydun

TA0605064188 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 6 May 88 pp 1, 24

[Repoprt by David Rudge]

[Excerpt] Qiryat Shemona—South Lebanese Army [SLA] troops yesterday reported killing a squad of gunmen trying to return to Maydun village, the scene of Wednesday morning's fierce fighting in which three IDF soldiers were killed and 17 wounded.

The gunmen, believed to have been members of Hizballah, which lost around 50 men in the battle, were in a vehicle travelling south from the village of 'Ayn Al-Tinah towards Maydun.

An SLA tank crew opened fire on the vehicle, destroying it and killing the occupants. [passage omitted]

Egypt's Request To Replace Ambassador Unanswered

TA0605085588 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 6 May 88 p 1

[Report by Gay Bekhor]

[Text] A new affair threatens Israeli-Egyptian relations: Cairo is demanding the immediate recall to Jerusalem of Ambassador Moshe Sason because he will soon be the most veteran foreign ambassador in Egypt. This would make Sason "doyen of the diplomatic corps" in Egypt, and would require him to head the dozens of foreign diplomats, including Arab diplomats, in Cairo.

This situation is causing serious concern and embarrassment to the Egyptian Government. Journalists in Cairo reported that Egypt recently asked the Israeli Government to replace Sason, but the requests have gone unanswered. The Egyptians believe Israeli authorities are deliberately postponing the change of ambassador.

Deportation Order Issued to U.S. Citizen 'Awwad

TA0605052788 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The police last night arrested Mubarak 'Awwad, the Palestinian with U.S. citizenship. He was presented with a deportation order and given 3 days to appeal to the High Court of Justice. The U.S. Consulate in East Jerusalem announced that the United States views 'Awwad's arrest and the intention to expel him with gravity.

Named 'Central Figure' in Riots

TA0605095088 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0930 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The decision to deport Mubarak 'Awwad was taken because his activities severely damaged security and public order, the prime minister's office announced. Avi Pazner, the prime minister's media adviser, told our political correspondent 'Oz Frankel that Mubarak 'Awwad is one of the central figures behind the disturbances and riots. His activities are funded by the PLO. He had contacts with the organization's leaders and expressed support for terrorist actions against the State of Israel.

Peres Discusses Lebanon, Peace Process, Tabah

TA0505172288 Jerusalem Television Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Interview with Shim'on Peres, vice prime minister and foreign minister, by political correspondent Me'ir Kohen and Arab affairs correspondent Shlomo Ganor in Jerusalem on 5 May—recorded in Hebrew with Arabic subtitles]

[Text] [Kohen] Good evening, Mr Minister.

[Peres] A very good evening to you, too.

[Kohen] There are several topical issues that we would like to discuss this evening: the peace process in the region, the situation in the territories, and the Tabah problem, of course. At the outset of the program, however, let us focus on the IDF operation that ended yesterday. Do you believe the operation achieved its purpose and goals?

[Peres] I believe so. It was part of what is known as preemptive routine. In light of the fact that there have been approximately five consecutive attempts to penetrate Israeli territory, Israel took action to preempt future attacks and to make sure that no additional cases occur. In that respect, I believe the goal was attained.

[Kohen] Was the operation justified despite the heavy toll involved?

[Peres] Naturally, I would have been much happier if there had been no casualties. But if the operation had not been conducted, who could say that nearly the same number of casualties would not have been exacted tomorrow in a later operation? This is speculation.

[Ganor] Mr Peres, now, after the operation, is there room for hope that calm will be restored along the northern border?

[Peres] I hope so. I hope calm will be restored. None of us has ever promised that it would be possible to seal the border completely or bring about absolute calm. Yet I sincerely hope that the quiet that will prevail now will be greater than what we have seen over the last few weeks.

[Ganor] Does the operation, or the targets that were chosen, indicate a change in our defense policy?

[Peres] No, I do not think so. I believe that this operation is clearly one of a reactionary and preemptive nature. It came in reaction to the intensity of the infiltration attempts and was intended to prevent the recurrence of such intensity.

[Ganor] Within the framework of this operation, we had our first opportunity to clash with an element with which we have never before collided directly, namely Hizballah.

[Peres] The truth is that we clashed with Hizballah because it was there. If it had not been there, we would not have clashed with it. The village that was the site of the encounter was devoid of [civilian] inhabitants. In fact, for all intents and purposes, it was a military position. Consequently, the clash was also military in nature, and involved Hizballah forces.

[Kohen] Do you believe that the Shi'ite village of Maydun was actually the original target of the operation?

[Peres] I believe the operation was conducted in two sectors: first, on the eastern-most sector, and later on the more central sector toward Jazzin. The logic behind the operation was to eliminate the source of danger.

[Kohen] Mr Peres, how do you view the South Lebanese Army's [SLA] role and incorporation in the fight against terrorism and the defense of the security zone?

[Peres] The SLA has demonstrated an appreciable fighting capability and commands respect for its steadfastness. It has definitely shown itself to be an effective army. I believe it is serving a true Lebanese view. The fact of the matter is that southern Lebanon is more quiet than the northern part of the country. All the inhabitants have returned to the south.

[Ganor] In its operation yesterday, the IDF was active in close proximity to Syrian positions. According to reports, there was very real danger of a clash with the Syrian forces. Was that eventuality taken into consideration?

[Peres] I am not sure that the reports and the situation were one and the same. I was not aware that the two forces were so close to each other. I believe the IDF operated from a distance of between 8 and 9 km from the Syrians. I believe the Syrians were fully aware of what was at stake. To wit, they neither intervened nor showed signs of anxiety and nervousness.

[Ganor] The attacks that have taken place these past 2 weeks showed a rise in the activity of Palestinian and Hizballah organizations. Does this point to a direct Syrian connection?

[Peres] I am not sure this is a true reflection of the state of affairs. I believe the Palestinian organizations want to show that they can be just as active as the inhabitants of the territories. Perhaps they want to help the inhabitants of the territories stage the intifadha [uprising in Arabic]. Personally I do not think this is really helping them. I believe they are a burden, they interrupt. Can all these operations help the inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza at all? How has any Arab—whether in Israel or even anywhere else in the world—benefited from the fact that two women and a man were killed on a bus traveling on the Dimona-Beersheba highway? How did that help?

Furthermore, I cannot understand them. What did they achieve? All they do is antagonize everyone, cause radicalization everywhere, and appear as people with whom it is impossible to hold talks. I believe the PLO itself is in a serious predicament at the moment, because even if it truly wants to help the residents of Judaea and Samaria, it lacks the economic wherewithal to do that.

You know, for example, that according to our estimates, income from work in Israel alone amounts to somewhere between $700 and $800 million a year? Thus, if people do not go to work, they will be unable to provide for their families or provide sustenance to their children. If people resign, what will they live on? Economic pressure, in which we are not interested at all, can already be felt.

[Ganor] But, to move on to events in the territories, this economic pressure is also felt in Israel.

[Peres] I do not think it is so acute. Besides, Israel has alternatives. It could, for instance, bring in other workers. There are plenty of alternatives to answer a shortage of labor, which is not the case in the absence of sources of employment.

Look, there is a Hebrew saying, which we all know, which says that one must first think, then act. What was the thinking behind this uprising? And what was the philosophy that lay behind the PLO operation? You will see that the PLO itself will soon experience internal disputes as to where all this is leading. All right, I cannot deny that the locals showed courage, threw stones, and enjoyed a sweet media victory. This, too, I cannot deny.

But where is all this leading? What will come out of it tomorrow, the next day, or in another month or two? Nothing. This is an attempt to catch the bull by the tail, rather than by the horns.

[Kohen] Mr Peres, let us move on to the Tabah issue. In view of the Israeli decision yesterday to pursue the efforts to reach a compromise on Tabah, what moves are currently necessitated by this resolution?

[Peres] First of all, the ways or method to resolve the dispute over Tabah had been decided upon in Camp David. It is not anything that this cabinet decided upon for the first time. It is true that there is one minister who constantly tries to place the entire responsibility on others, but the decision at the time was that if conflicts over certain points along the border arise, the method to solve them would involve negotiations, followed by compromise efforts, and arbitration. The negotiations lasted for several years, but yielded nothing. We had to decide between compromise and arbitration. Some of us demanded arbitration, while others demanded a compromise.

In the end, the government which I still headed decided to seek both arbitration and compromise. In other words, that we will agree to conduct both things simultaneously, devoting time first to compromise efforts, to be followed by arbitration. We made efforts to reach a compromise, but the time for the compromise option is due to expire on 10 May, or in just a few days unless both sides want to extend the period that had originally been allocated for compromise to allow for further compromise efforts. We suggested to Egypt that this period be extended. If Egypt accepts the offer, the two sides will approach the tribunal, which in this case, will most probably extend it.

[Kohen] Do you expect Egypt to respond favorably to the Israeli offer? Is the ball in Egypt's court right now?

[Peres] I hope so. Look, I do not want to play ball all the time. We are all so sensitive about our honor. We told the Egyptians: Although we are not accepting a proposal regarding arbitration, we are not rejecting it, either. We simply want to continue to examine the possibility of reaching a mutually acceptable compromise.

[Ganor] Are there any new Israeli proposals?

[Peres] Israel actually said that it is prepared to give up sovereignty in return for reserving the option of running the facilities in the area. This is the grand scheme, to use a common turn of phrase. Let us not delve into the specifics right now, because if we do we would be entering into the realm of the negotiations.

[Ganor] The question, Mr Peres—if the Egyptians claim sovereignty, and this follows from your remarks—is what is going to happen to the Israeli facilities, namely the [Aviya Sonesta] hotel and the [Rafi Nelson] holiday resort?

[Peres] The idea is to keep them under Israeli administration, without supervision. This is the whole idea.

[Ganor] Do you believe that there will be Egyptian willingness in principle, through the U.S. proposal, on this and that Cairo will accept this offer?

[Peres] The best advice I could give you, and also myself, is not to try to represent the Egyptian side, because no one likes others to represent their positions. Let us be patient and see.

[Kohen] Regarding the U.S. side, the [State Department] legal adviser raised a concrete proposal. What was Israel's response to it?

[Peres] Israel's answer was that this should be checked further. The way it stands at the moment, to date we have insufficient data to allow us to reach a positive decision.

[Ganor] Mr Peres, is it not surprising that we need a third party to mediate between us and a country with which we have a peace treaty?

[Peres] This is only natural. Do not forget that the Americans signed the Camp David Accords as witnesses. In other words, the third party also cosigned the Camp David agreements. The Americans have a certain status in this respect.

[Kohen] So what is your prediction regarding the next stage, if Egypt responds to the compromise proposal favorably?

[Peres] The compromise stage would continue, and I hope we will reach a compromise.

[Kohen] Do you mean that direct talks will be conducted between Israeli and Egyptian delegations?

[Peres] Yes, but through and with the mediation of the judges who have been elected to the tribunal.

[Ganor] Mr Peres, is there any justification for our concession of sovereignty in exchange for normalization of bilateral relations? This might be a good opportunity to recall that there are approximately 30 signed agreements regarding normalization, but they have never been implemented.

[Peres] Look, normalization should be demanded irrespective of the Tabah problem. I would not link one to the other. The problem of honoring the content of accords should be insisted upon anyway. And this should be done every day.

[Ganor] But to date we have not insisted on this.

[Peres] Yes, we have. Look, commercial ties are very much a matter of goodwill. We cannot coerce anyone. Tourism has been on the upswing, the Egyptian ambassador returned to Israel—as we had agreed upon in connection with the Tabah dispute. Seriously speaking, there is no doubt that Egyptian-Israeli ties are undergoing serious tests for both sides. It would be naive of me or anyone else to say that no such tests exist.

[Ganor] Do you regard this as one of the tougher tests?

[Peres] Tabah is a serious, although not the only, test. What is happening in the territories is also a test, as is normalization. There are a number of tests.

[Kohen] Mr Peres, perhaps we will end this chapter with a question on the future of relations between the two countries. Until recently, Egypt described peace with Israel as a cold peace. Now it calls it a formal peace. Where are bilateral relations headed?

[Peres] Every peace entails a part which prevents and a part which promotes. The first has to do with the prevention of war. This in itself is significant and not to be scorned. The fact that the Sinai Peninsula is free of missiles, tanks, artillery, aircraft, armies, and tension has contributed to the fact that for a decade now this area has seen no battles or casualties. I am convinced that every Egyptian mother, and every Israeli mother, is grateful for this. It is true that this may not be such a spectacular thing, but it is an indisputable fact which both Egypt and Israel acknowledge. I know that President Mubarak devotes a lot of thought to economic matters. We, too, should give a lot of thought to this subject.

The more positive aspect of peace has been suffering continually from the fact that a conflict exists between us and the Arab world. Peace which is not comprehensive or stable definitely has a detrimental effect. The absence of peace has an equally disturbing effect on Jewish-Arab relations in Israel. If we were not engaged in relations of war with the Arab countries, I assure you relations between Jews and Arabs inside Israel would be far calmer, far better.

[Kohen] Mr Peres, regarding the peace process in the region: Next week you are scheduled to meet with President Reagan in Washington. What will you offer the Americans to promote the process, in view of the fact that the Shultz initiative has met with virtual opposition from all sides?

[Peres] You can look at the Shultz initiative as though it was the half full or half empty glass of water. Thus, you can claim either that it was not accepted, or that no one rejected it. In both cases you would be right. The proposal met with no opposition anywhere.

I believe the United States is currently working on the Soviet angle. It is actually telling the Soviets this: If you want an international conference, this will only be possible according to the U.S. version, because there is no one to support your version of it. I for one, although I am prepared to launch direct negotiations in an international conference, am not ready to allow anyone—Soviet or American—to dictate to us how to conduct the negotiations or, God forbid, try to force a solution upon us. I believe the Soviets could have made the peace process far easier if they had renewed their diplomatic relations with Israel.

As you know, Israel was established thanks to Soviet support. At that time, we did not reject the Soviets. Peace, too, can happen with Soviet support. An improvement in their attitude toward the Soviet Jews could also help. Let me tell you something in general: Peace is a very complicated business. It is a very long road, rife with obstacles, disappointments, stones—you name it. The most important thing is never to lose sight of your goal. War, too, is a complex matter, and also very expensive. The difference is in the outcome. All those who spot a hurdle on the peace course and think this is the end of the world should understand that it is not. They should not panic or despair. One should always think about the alternatives.

I am leaving for the United States before President Reagan and Mr Shultz depart for the Soviet Union. I will certainly raise these issues with them, both in their political context and from their Jewish and Israeli angles. I will definitely encourage further contacts regarding the peace process. Those who oppose it or underestimate it have no idea what damage they are causing, what they are doing. I think that the Jews are skeptical about the Arab position. There is great skepticism, for example, regarding Jordan's position. Everywhere I go people ask me: What about King Husayn? What is he saying?

[Kohen] That is my next question.

[Peres] They say: What if he is out of the picture? I know that there are great doubts, a great deal of skepticism. I am not denying that the road is rough. As they say in Arabic, the camel that carries sugar to Mecca must eat thorns all the way, as there is nothing else to eat.

[Kohen] Obviously you are not despairing and are pursuing your efforts.

[Peres] Even if we are forced to swallow thistles, we will not lose hope of the path.

[Ganor] Mr Peres, you are actually pointing to a solution in Moscow and the upcoming summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev. In view of the understandings reached between the two superpowers on the missiles and Afghanistan, do you think that solutions to regional conflicts, such as the Middle East, can be found?

[Peres] My answer is a resounding yes. I just do not know when—now, or later. To those who say that the Soviets will not participate, I would like to say this: The problem is not the Soviet Union, but Soviet policy. If the Soviet Union invades Afghanistan, this is bad. If it leaves Afghanistan, it is good. Yet it is the same Soviet Union. If it supports the establishment of a Jewish state, this is good. But if it supports those who try to attack it, this is bad. If the Soviet Union manufactures long-range missiles outfitted with nuclear warheads, this is bad. But if it agrees to get rid of 50 percent of them, this is good. Therefore, our struggle is not with the people, it is against one certain policy and in favor of another. In the end, even the Soviets should ask themselves how the ongoing conflict can help them, what they stand to gain from it if it continues. While they used to be the sole supplier of weapons, now they have another competitor—the PRC. The Chinese have been offering to market their missiles recently. Where is all this leading? What will the Soviets gain by another war here? What would be the advantage?

[Ganor] Another side in this conflict is Jordan. King Husayn announces day in and day out that he has no intention of representing the Palestinians in an international conference and that he would only discuss matters pertaining to Jordan itself. Mr Peres, a year ago you reached an agreement with him in London. My question is whether these statements by King Husayn do not prove that he is retracting his earlier consent.

[Peres] I believe the real question is: Who is King Husayn addressing when he says these things, the Palestinians or us? This is a very serious question.

[Ganor] So at what audience is he aiming these remarks?

[Peres] I think the Palestinians. He is telling them: Gentlemen, you are staging an intifadha. You say you do not want the Jordanians. Fine, thank you very much. Go and conduct your own negotiations!

[Ganor] And what did he tell you?

[Peres] First of all, I never said he told me anything, and I would appreciate it if you would not try to trap me by words so elegantly.

I am saying that I know King Husayn accepted the so-called 1987 London agreement. To the best of my knowledge he has not gone back on this agreement. Yet he is telling the Palestinians here in the territories the following: Gentlemen, what do you really want? Do you want to engage in negotiations? Fine, go ahead! But how can they? Who will represent them? Whom will come, who will talk? Once again, we sense the Palestinian tragedy. Where is it all leading?

You know, the PLO has existed these past 24 years, with 'Arafat at its head. What are his achievements? Victims, casualties, and more casualties. It takes courage to embark on negotiations. The Americans told him: If you recognize UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, renounce terrorism, and recognize Israel's right to exist, negotiations will start. What is he afraid of? Husayn, too, is saying: Those who come to the conference must recognize 242 and 338.

Incidentally, he is saying as much to us, too, not only to the Palestinians. He says: Either there are negotiations, or there is terrorism. The two cannot live side by side. I presume there are some Arab Palestinians among our listeners who realize that a man like myself does not wish ill upon them, does not want to harm them either as individual human beings or as a nation. I have no desire to hurt their honor or detract from their income or feelings. They must know that the question is: Where is all this leading?

All they cause is radicalization, constant escalation, and greater violence. Do they think that Israel is weak? Certainly Israel can handle such a situation. If we Israelis do not realize that the Arabs have legitimate rights, that the Palestinians have legitimate rights and just demands, we will be wrong. But if the Arabs and the Palestinians refuse to accept the fact that Israel has real security needs, after 40 years and 5 wars, they would be demonstrating a lack of understanding of the essence of the conflict. A decision must be made: either a la guerre comme a la guerre, with another round in the arms race, bloodshed, casualties, and death—I know what all this leads to. If, however, people want negotiations, a decision to that effect must be reached.

One of the reasons why we suggested negotiations with the Jordanians and the Palestinians was that, first of all, Jordan is capable of conducting negotiations even now, and second because all the inhabitants of the West Bank, without exception, are Jordanian citizens. Are they prepared to burn their Jordanian passports? What is it that we are talking about? I know that many families residing in Hebron, Nabulus, and Ramallah have relatives in trans-Jordan.

[Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew at 1605 GMT on 5 May reports further Peres remarks on the peace process: "To my deep regret, I believe that unless a peace process is launched, the opposite will start. I am not saying that the party to which I do not belong wants war. God forbid. I do want to say, however, that if a peace process is not begun, objectively speaking, a process of war will take place. We are familiar with the story. Our state has existed for 40 years, and there has not been a decade without a war."]

[Kohen] Mr Peres, the latest development in the regional process has been the rapprochement between Syria and the PLO. Do you think that this will make the moderate countries, such as Egypt and Jordan, backed by the United States, consider other avenues besides the PLO?

[Peres] I doubt it. Look, once again, what type of rapprochement is this? This is getting closer for the sake of getting farther away from the peace process. It is not as though the PLO and Syria have decided to get closer to the peace process. They evidently decided again to strengthen the rejectionist front.

[Kohen] But this has ramifications!

[Peres] So what? This is a matter of deja vu, as the French would say. We have already seen such things happen before. We have witnessed the great love Syria and the PLO have for each other. What did it lead to? What came out of it? What did it create?

Look, we too must use our heads. We cannot just talk off the top of our heads. If Jordan tells the Palestinians to go and conduct their own negotiations, a vacuum will be created and nothing will happen. To those who ask me today whether there is a Jordanian option, I say: As an Israeli, I first want to find out whether there is an Israeli option. I know that we have to make up our minds here at home first. I am not putting the entire onus exclusively on the others.

At the same time, I am telling the others: You must decide for yourselves, but not on whether or not there exists a Jordanian or Israeli option, but whether there is an option for peace. The option for peace will exist only if there is another side whose considerations are taken into account—and we must certainly consider the other side, the Arab-Palestinian-Jordanian side. They, for their part, must consider Israel's real needs as well. I say this earnestly and with a sense of urgency.

[Ganor] Apropos the Jordanian option, the defense minister declared that he supports the establishment of a Jordanian-Palestinian state that would include 60 percent of Judaea and Samaria with Amman as its capital. Does this proposal not indicate a change in the well-known position of the Labor Party, which has talked about a territorial compromise before, but not in such proportions?

[Peres] I believe the defense minister thought about the size involved, more or less. We have never measured the area. He is a serious man and can certainly carry out a feasible assessment.

Let me add this though, and I intend this for Israeli ears. Some people say: Look at the Jordanian position! It does not accept your view! Look at the Palestinian position! There is no doubt in my mind that at the outset of the negotiations, there will be a serious gap between the Arab and Israeli positions. After all, if there was agreement between us, we would not need negotiations. We need negotiations because we disagree.

[Ganor] But Mr Peres, to date, in the past 21 years, we refrained from drawing any maps.

[Peres] He did not draw a map.

[Ganor] The defense minister determined that Israel can give up 60 percent of Judaea and Samaria.

[Peres] He drew no maps. He merely expressed an assessment. This is not the first time that such an evaluation has been made. It has already been said that a vast part of the West Bank—some people suggested 60 percent, others 70 percent of it—could be handed back. I would say this is merely a poetic description, an attempt to give an idea of what we are talking about.

[Kohen] In terms of the political process, what is your prediction regarding future developments? Will the process be halted? Will it be resumed?

[Peres] I am glad you asked this question. You do not need anyone's agreement to say no. You simply say no. But to say yes, you need an entire philharmonic orchestra to play the same tune. You need the Soviets, the Americans, the Jordanians, the Palestinians, and yourself. That is why some people here say that the Likud has an opening position. It says no. So what? What can we do with that no? Where is it taking us?

We certainly have a more complicated answer, but at the same time it is also more realistic and constructive. It requires constant work, however, trying to bring the Soviets, the Palestinians, and the Jordanians closer to peace.

[Kohen] What about the impending elections here and in the United States?

[Peres] I hope you will believe me when I tell you it was not my doing. It is a fact of life. Every one of us should ask himself whether our lives will be easier after the U.S. elections. I doubt it. We must also ask ourselves what will happen after the Israeli elections, because it is obvious that this time the elections are going to be extremely crucial, one way or the other.

[Kohen] Mr Peres, when you visit Washington you will no doubt be asked about the territories and the unrest that has been going on for 5 months. How will you explain the situation?

[Peres] Israel has controlled the territories for the past 21 years. This state of affairs never existed before.

[Kohen] Why?

[Peres] Because we did not need to resort to the kind of measures we employ nowadays. The measures we employ in the territories are a reaction, not something we choose to do. If Israel had to decide how to act in the territories, it would not have chosen to act like this. It is not in our interest to see anyone—woman or child—hurt by a rock or a rubber bullet. We definitely do not want it. But when they started throwing the rocks and the firebombs, we had to ask ourselves how to handle this, how to deal with it, how to react: with live ammunition or with rubber bullets. The answer is that we are trying to react in a way that will cost as few lives as possible.

[Kohen] Our program has reached its end. I want to thank you Mr Peres, vice prime minister and foreign minister, and you too, Shlomo Ganor.

AL-'AWDAH Editor Arrested for Incitement

TA0605043988 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0400 GMT 6 May 88

[Excerpt] The Jerusalem police have arrested one of the editors of the East Jerusalem weekly AL-'AWDAH. Ilyas Zananiri was arrested yesterday for a period of 48 hours on suspicion of incitement. AL-'AWDAH was closed earlier this week by the Interior Ministry. Police have also arrested another editor of the pro-Palestinian newspaper DEREKH HANITZOTZ [THE WAY OF THE SPARK]. Hadas Lahav was editor of the culture section of the paper and translated articles. [passage omitted]

DEREKH HANITZOTZ Editor's Detention Extended

TA0505142488 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1330 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] The detention of Roni Ben-Efrat, an editor of DEREKH HANITZOTZ [THE WAY OF THE SPARK], was extended by another 10 days today. She is still not allowed to meet with her attorney, Felicia Langer. Another detainee, Mikhal Schwartz, today filed an appeal with the Supreme Court regarding her incarceration. The appeal was handed over to the judge on duty for perusal. This report was filed by our correspondent Mikha'el Birenhack.

More on Unrest, Related Incidents in Territories

IDF Wounds Youth in Khan Yunus

TA0505163688 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 5 May 88

[Text] A 15 year old inhabitant of Khan Yunus was slightly wounded at noon by IDF fire. The IDF is investigating the circumstances of the incident. Our correspondent Moti Amir reports that there was relative quiet in the Gaza Strip today. There were stonethrowing incidents in several places but there were no grave clashes with security forces.

Government Enforces Strike

TA0505172888 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1605 GMT 5 May 88

[Report by Judaea and Samaria correspondent Arye Gus]

[Text] The battle for control of commercial life continues. Merchants in Judaea and Samaria yesterday held a commercial strike. In response the Military Government today closed shops and businesses for 3 days. Neither the merchants nor the leadership of the uprising will dictate commercial life in the territories, security sources said. There is a sort of strike in Judaea and Samaria today, but on order of the authorities. In addition, the Military Government prevented trucks with supplies from entering several towns. If there is to be a strike then it should be complete. That is why the gas stations were also closed. In Nabulus the fruit and vegetable stalls and newspaper stands were also ordered closed. Inhabitants were forbidden to move from region to region. The struggle continues even when there are no disturbances or violent clashes.

In Bayt Sahur students tried to reach their school in answer to a call by the extremists despite the closure order but were pushed back by soldiers.

In the Nur al-Shams refugee camp a curfew was imposed this morning in order to enable the army to re-erect a fence along the main road to prevent youngsters from hurling stones on it.

In Jerusalem, the police arrested Ilyas Zananiri, one of the editors of the AL-'AWDA weekly, for 48 hours apparently in connection with an incident in Salah al-Din Street during an incident over a month ago.

Firebombs Set Kibbutzim Afire

TA0505191488 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Some 200 dunums of barley fields belonging to Kibbutz Nir 'Oz were burned after a firebomb was hurled at them. Our correspondent Sheli Yehimovitch reports that the Molotov cocktail was apparently thrown from the village of (Khuzay'ah) in the Gaza Strip. Two weeks ago, the drip irrigation system of Kibbutz 'En Hashelosha, near the Gaza Strip, was also set on fire.

1 Killed, 1 Injured by Settlers

TA0505201488 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] A resident of the village of Turmus 'Ayya in Samaria was killed and another wounded in a clash between Jews and Arabs near the settlement of Shilo. A preliminary investigation showed that a female resident of the settlement noticed that some Arabs were herding their flock near the settlement. She summoned help from Shilo. When they approached the shepherds, the latter

began pelting them with rocks. One of the Shilo residents apparently shot at the stonethrowers, killing one and injuring another. The police have launched an investigation.

2 Arabs Wounded by IDF

TA0605093888 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Arab sources said that two Arabs were wounded by IDF fire during riots in the village of Qabatiyah in Samaria.

Our correspondent Arye Gus reports that roadblocks were set up this morning on roads leading from the territories to Jerusalem. Security forces are preventing youths from reaching the capital, apparently to prevent infiltration of inciters to the Al-Aqsa Mosque during Friday prayers.

16-Year Old Sentenced to 1 Year

TA0605093288 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The Jerusalem District Court today sentenced Haran Burkan, a 16-year-old Arab youth, to 1 year in jail and 1 year's suspended sentence for conspiring to throw Molotov cocktails at policemen. The youth prepared several firebombs but did not throw them, because Arab girls were passing by. Our correspondent 'Adi Malul points out that the Jerusalem District prosecutor appeared for the prosecution at the trial. The justice minister has asked senior prosecutors to appear at trials of demonstrators and stone throwers.

Israeli, U.S. Flags Burned

TA0605114288 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1005 GMT 6 May 88

[Report by 'Adi Malul on Temple Mount in Jerusalem]

[Text] Friday prayers ended a short time ago. Most of the worshippers dispersed quietly, except for groups of youths and women who ascended the stairs from the level of the main square to that of the Dome of the Rock where they shouted nationalist slogans, hoisted a PLO flag, and burned Israeli and U.S. flags.

Later the worshippers circled the mosque and hoisted PLO flags. A police helicopter hovered all the time. A few minutes ago several stones were hurled at the police station on Temple Mount. The large square on the mount was not full today. It is hot and the worshippers are fasting during Ramadan. But the holiday ends next Thursday and large numbers of worshippers are expected to attend the prayers the following day, which is expected to test whether quiet will continue on the Temple Mount.

Lebanon Operation Termed 'First in a Series'

TA0605113488 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 6 May 88 p 24

[Editorial: "Operation Law and Order"]

[Text] Unlike the hapless Operation Peace for Galilee four years ago, this week's IDF sweep into Lebanon beyond the security zone, dubbed Operation Law and Order, lasted even less than the 48 hours assigned for its completion. The importance of this fact cannot be minimized, even though it does nothing to assuage the nation's pain over the loss of three fine and brave soldiers.

By sticking to the original schedule, Yitzhaq Rabin, the defence minister, in effect indicated his complete rejection of the dismal, fatalistic choice suggested this week by MK [Knesset Member] Refa'el Eytan, the 1982 chief of staff: a choice between letting the terrorists be sucked from Lebanon into Israel or allowing Israel to be sucked into Lebanon.

True, Operation Law and Order did turn rather bolder and weightier as it progressed. On the first day the troops confined themselves to "clearing the area of terrorists and their supporters and...issuing a warning to local villagers not to cooperate with them." On the second day they suddenly attacked the village of Maydun, menacingly overlooking the security zone, which had recently been turned at Syria's urging into Hizballah fortress. Over 40 terrorists belonging to this fundamentalist, Iranian-sponsored Shi'ite faction are said to have been killed in fierce house-to-house and trench fighting. Their mission accomplished, the troops pulled back.

In his office Wednesday night, the OC [Officer in Command] Northern Command Yosi Peled, assured reporters that the operation had achieved all its objectives. It had served to deter the terrorists, and to warn villagers not to cooperate with them.

How effective the "two-tiered" operation actually was, remains to be seen. That it was necessary to establish the IDF's credibility as this country's defender against its enemies, whether "regular" or "irregular," and to reassure the friends Israel still has is unquestionable. By taking Hizballah bodily on, for the first time, the IDF also served notice that this bloody-minded, hostage-grabbing ally of the bloodiest-minded PLO factions will from now on be denied the virtual immunity from Israeli punishment and retaliation it has apparently so far enjoyed at Washington's behest. Yet it is all too plain that the operation did not serve to actually restore "law and order' to even the edge of the security zone.

The beating it took at Maydun may of course induce Hizballah to do some fresh thinking, as it has done before in similar circumstances. But it is idle to bank on any fundamental change of mind. The destruction of the infidel Jewish state is for Hizballah an article of faith.

Nor is there an reason to expect the sundry PLO factions in Lebanon to desist from terrorism while the intifadha [uprising] is going on, and while the Syrians are offering to reward them for excalating their terrorism.

Operation Law and Order therefore promises, or, as the case may be, threatens, to be only the first in a series. Such operations will have to be supplemented by cultivating Lebanese groups, such as the Shi'ite Amal, that may not be Israel's friends but understand the dangers extremism of the Hizballah variety poses for them as well. And they must under no condition lead to a renewal of Israeli meddling in Lebanon's affairs, nor to a reassertion of direct Israeli control over any part of the unhappy land that lies to the north.

Such relatively modest operations, which will presumably be launched only under duress, need not in themselves be expected to assure Galilee of genuine peace in the foreseeable future. But if the Syrians do not come in to turn them into a full-scale war, these operations should suffice.

Commentary Profiles 'Committees of the Uprising'
TA0505154288 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 2 May 88 p 7

[Commentary by Pinhas 'Inbari: "Autonomy Is Developing on its Own"]

[Text] The IDF is succeeding in suppressing the external expressions of the uprising in the territories and the scale and numbers of demonstrations is declining, but it is becoming more and more apparent that these expressions are not the real achievement of the uprising. The innovation cannot be found there. The real achievement lies in the amount of organization that is taking shape "internally" among the Palestinians and their ability to withstand the hardships of the uprising on their own.

The skeleton of the internal organization is called "the committees of the uprising" and it is becoming more and more evident that the success of the uprising will be measured by how long these committees will last. We would not be exaggerating if we were to say that the main goal of the unprecedented wave of arrests is to use force to put an end to these committees. Their ability to survive despite the wave of arrests is the identification mark of the deep roots of the popular opposition among the Palestinian population to the continuation of the Israeli occupation. As more committee activists are arrested, others come to take their place. "We cannot deploy a soldier next to each Palestinian," a veteran security official sighed in my ear.

It is impossible to interview the committee activists for the obvious reason that their activity is considered to be "political subversion." But an Arabic weekly appearing in Cyprus, AL-UFUQ [HORIZONS], recently (24 April 88) published a detailed article on these committees, and what is evident from the text is that the journalist, Riba'i al-Madhun, drew his information from PLO sources on the island. When he refers to the need to dismiss the municipal councillors, he says the following: (These acts) were aimed at driving out the occupation in preparation for uprooting it and having it expelled from the territories once and for all. That is: to eliminate all the frameworks and administrations the occupation set up during the past 20 years, the administrative, military, legal, economic, and social infrastructures on which the occupation relies....in order to run the inhabitants' daily lives. The moves (taken by the uprising) were aimed at providing immediate alternatives to the occupation's institutions, which will take upon themselves the management of the municipal affairs and the health, social, and other services.

The situation is clear. These committees, which are being set up as far as possible in each village and in each neighborhood in the large towns, must replace the Israeli regime in running the lives of the inhabitants. This is a far-reaching ambition, and accordingly a network of committees have been set up with the aim of covering the various aspects of daily life, for the most part according to the requirements of the uprising.

For example, the health committees are aimed at facilitating rapid treatment for casualties of the demonstrations. In order to operate efficiently these committees had to organize in the various hospitals, whether government run under the direct supervision of the Israeli Civilian Administration, or the private hospitals.

In the government hospital in Ramallah matters reached the point where the entire hospital was demonstrably removed from the control of the occupation. The local committee which claimed to be running the institution even hoisted the Palestinian flag on the roof of the building. The IDF had to "reconquer" the hospital. This brought suffering to the patients who had to inhale tear gas in large quantities during the operation to lower the flag. But the main task of the health committees was to put an Arab vehicle on emergency footing in each spot where a demonstration was about to take place in order to immediately rush the casualties to the hospital.

A different type of important committee was "the food supply committees." These were meant mainly to aid the refugee camps under curfew. For instance, Ramallah was responsible for looking after the needs of the refugee camps in its environs, such as Qalandiyah and especially Al-Am'ari and Al-Jalazun. When there was a curfew it was of course impossible to look after them, but immediately after the curfew was lifted or when there was a halt in the transfer of food, the local committee would be informed and it would distribute the foodstuffs according to its criteria.

Israel of course understood the political significance of the ostensibly innocent distribution of food and tried as much as it could to interfere with the action.

The educational committees were meant to look after the students who were on strike. In several places, mainly in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, there were attempts to teach the students in groves, open fields, or in private schools, but these attempts were weak and unsuccessful. The proof is that the parents' main pressure was to open the schools which have been closed almost from the start of the uprising because they have no alternative. To illustrate to the inhabitants the determination not to permit studies as long as the uprising and the educational committees' activity continue, the IDF has converted the striking schools into IDF barracks.

It appears that of all the committees the most effective are the merchants' committees, which are replacing the pro-Jordanian Chambers of Commerce, and a military-type committee called: "The Striking Committee," or in the language used by the author of the article in the weekly AL-UFUQ: "The Striking Force." This is what he writes: (In order to) guarantee control by the National Actions Command Headquarters over daily affairs, action committees have been set up which are called "The Striking Force" (and its task is): To survey and implement the overt calls and orders or the covert orders and supervision over the process of daily life, and solve urgent social problems. This means first laying the foundation for an independent state on the basis of the existing situation and the conditions set by the heroic uprising....

This being so, the combination of the "Merchants Committees" with the "Striking Force" is what is making the uprising's most outstanding success possible: The demonstration of the internal leadership's power as it has been expressed in the merchants' strikes. The more Israel tries to use counter-terror to break the "Striking Force" and fails, the more successful the local committees are seen.

It would be a mistake to link the success of the commercial strike to the "Striking Force." Over the years the merchants developed a genuine motivation to demonstrate to Israel their dissatisfaction with its attitude toward them. On one occasion we reviewed in HOTAM [the 'AL HAMISHMAR weekend supplement] the East Jerusalem merchants' feelings that they were being discriminated against because of the heavy tax burden. We forecast the possibility of a large commercial strike, although not within the framework of the general uprising. Similar complaints by West Bank merchants increased the feeling that it was not only objective considerations of tax collection that were the basis for this or that tax demand, it was that the Jewish tax collectors were not always free of prejudices toward Arabs and this found expression in their work. That is, the tax burden was used as political pressure on public figures of one kind or another who were also merchants.

Since the uprising committees took daily needs into consideration, they quickly understood that the commercial strike had to provide the possibility of making an impressive political demonstration while enabling the inhabitants to carry on with their daily lives. Therefore, orderly opening and closing times were set which were changed in accordance with the needs of the place and time (for example, Ramadan) and the recommendations of the local committee.

According to AL-UFUQ, the organization's political goal is not just short-term, to replace the Israeli rule from the administrative and military aspects ("The Striking Force"). It also has goals related to the PLO's strategy as warranted by the political process. The PLO is prepared to settle for Palestinian autonomy as an interim stage prior to full independence. But that autonomy must be controlled by the PLO, not Israel. "Of all the achievements that have already been made, the self-rule plan and its well-known derivatives are now buried in the occupied land.

Its main components, which are Israeli control over the country's potential, economy, and other sources of livelihood, are similarly being usurped. Alternative vehicles have sprung up in anticipation of an overall self-rule administration, which will assume responsibility for running all the aspects of life in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, while regional and international policies will be conducted by the PLO on the way to national independence."

Meanwhile, an international force should separate Israel from the Palestinians in the territories, and the committees must prepare the ground for this. The committees work on creating conditions that will be conducive to the laying of an infrastructure for the intermediate stage and which will permit the PLO to demand, among other things, a temporary international aegis for the occupied territories. This aegis will take the form of troops that will constitute a buffer between the territories and Israel and will be overseen by the United Nations. According to AL-UFUQ, this will also prepare the ground for the establishment of a transitional government for the intermediate stage, until complete sovereignty is granted.

Who are the members of those uprising committees found all over the West Bank? Undoubtedly, their survival in spite of all the mass detentions aimed primarily against their members indicates that they are extremely popular and have deep roots among the local populace. Most probably, however, they did not pop up out of thin air. The West Bank was strewn with a network of committees, unions, and pro-PLO organizations uniting carpenters, tailors, drivers, and the like even before the unrest. These were probably the foundations of the uprising committees.

In Bayt Immar in the Hebron hills, where IDF tractors "razed" houses while "clearing roads," a committee comprised of locksmiths residing in the Hebron hills area operated to provide repair work free of charge. This also points to the readiness of the Palestinian population

to support the collective. It also shows that there already existed an organizational basis on which the uprising committees could latch on to.

Yet there is still a tremendous and significant difference: The previous organizational network was legal and was duly registered with the Civilian Administration. It therefore never appeared as an openly pro-PLO organizational network. Its pro-PLO sympathies were never concealed, but it was not a PLO organization per se.

The committees of the uprising, on the other hand, assume the title of PLO committees outright, thereby marking the first time that the PLO has removed the mask, appearing in name in preliminary activity toward statehood. Therefore, the uprising committees' "Striking Force" is really PLO squads, evidently made up of discharged security prisoners or Al-Shabibah men. "The Striking Force" also signed warning letters sent to civil servants, demanding that they resign. It sometimes calls itself "the military arm of the uprising," which actually removes the lingering doubts as to its true identity. It is the PLO proper.

If we are referring to the PLO, then its external appearance as a united command is exaggerated because all the "outside" PLO splinters also exist "inside."

There are many signs that the absence of a united command makes it hard for the PLO to seize control of the uprising. There are also ugly signs of hooliganism by members of the committees. For instance there are places where members of the committees in villages permit local inhabitants to leave for work in Israel only after the payment of bribes.

According to the picture painted in AL-UFUQ it seems that to a large extent control has already passed to the uprising committees—but this is also a boast that is not completely correct. The very existence of the committees in the current conditions of pressure is their real success. Israel understands very well the aims of the committees and it is using counterpressure, which puts the inhabitants in a situation where they are caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. Israel's main misconception is that it is not fear of the "Striking Force" that is driving the Palestinians to cooperate with the uprising committees. It is the genuine desire to be freed of the insufferable burden of Israel—the inevitable consequence of the Likud policy over the past 10 years, which has been continued by Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin's policy.

The IDF is trying to impose the Civilian Administration on the inhabitants in every possible way. This is particularly evident in the methodical policy of bureaucratically making life more difficult by forcing the inhabitants to turn to the Military Government to settle their affairs. A new method is confiscation of identity cards over any matter whether small or large. Youngsters in Nabulus told me that the border police took away their cards for no reason while they were crossing the street. Anyone whose identity card is taken away must turn to the Civilian Administration and they are returned only after the person brings confirmation that he has paid up all his taxes. What actually happens is that many people do not have the time to stand for hours in lines at the Civilian Administration and they simply go without their identity cards.

In the final analysis, the IDF cannot compete with the uprising committees and its defeat lies in their very appearance. How many more detention centers can be established? It is impossible to arrest the entire West Bank. For every committee that is "liquidated" another is set up in its place.

And perhaps the entire fight against these committees is a mistake? After all, Israel claims that it wants to give the Palestinians autonomy—here is autonomy developing on its own. Perhaps we should give it a chance?

Paper Views NBC Correspondent's Expulsion

JN060912 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic
6 May 88 pp 1, 14

[Political commentator's article: "The Official U.S. Spokesman and the Lies of the NBC Correspondent in Amman"]

[Text] One wonders at a statement by Charles Redman, official spokesman of the U.S. Department of State, criticizing Jordan's decision to ask Rick Davies, correspondent of the U.S. NBC network, to leave Jordan within 1 week. The decision also withdrew the accreditation of two Jordanian journalists as correspondents of foreign agencies, including the NBC network itself.

Both the director of the Jordanian information office in Washington and the Jordanian Ministry of Information explained the objective reasons for the Jordanian decision to expel Rick Davies. These reasons are related to the honor, ethics, and privileges of journalism, which make it incumbent on the journalist to search for truth and convey it honestly. They are also related to the national interest itself, since allowing a foreign journalist to reside in a country does not mean permitting him to tell lies, distort the bright facts about this country, or violate the laws and regulations enacted in the country hosting him, nor does it prevent this country from punishing him when he violates the law and undermines the national security of this country.

This was exactly what happened with Rick Davies, who was cautioned three times in the past 4 months for behaving in a way that does not conform with the ethics and honor of journalism. The first time was on 15 January 1988 when Davies protested and threatened to close the NBC office in Amman if Jordanian officials continued to refrain from meeting with him and from giving him press statements. The second time was on 30 January 1988 when Davies protested because His Majesty King Husayn gave a press statement to a U.S. correspondent and not to him. Davies also distributed a letter saying that he was doing Jordan a favor, since his agency maintains an office in Amman.

The third time was when U.S. Secretary of State Shultz visited the region. Rick Davies accompanied Miss Samirah Qa'war, an employee of his, and an Egyptian photographer, who works with him, to the Amman military airport. The security officer entrusted with protecting the U.S. secretary of state asked the photographer to stand in a specific place according to the planned arrangement to protect the U.S. secretary of state and in the presence of all foreign press representatives and delegates from the Press and Publications Department. Rick Davies, along with Samirah Qa'war, contacted the minister of information 2 hours after the secretary of state's departure to protest the treatment at the airport and fabricated a story about the way the photographer was treated. Davies even said the photographer was treated in that way because she is an Arab. At that time, Rick Davies was told that Jordan was open to its guests, whether foreign journalists or others, and that he was not allowed to exceed the limits of politeness or to teach Jordan how to treat its guests.

In an investigation conducted at the press and publications department on the following day, it was revealed that Rick Davies had fabricated the whole story and that the Jordanian security man treated the photographer with all the politeness known to Jordanians. Rick Davies remained silent on the incident after his lies were disclosed. Approximately 2 weeks ago, Davies screened a program about Jordan in the United States. He did not utter a single word of sympathy with the Palestinian people's cause. This program did not point to the people's hardship in the occupied territories, to their uprising, or to the Jordanian people's sympathy with the uprising.

Instead, the report that Davies prepared in that program was devoted to telling lies. Davies' bias prompted him to say that Jordan changed the name of the Al-Wihdat [Sports] Club out of revenge on the Palestinians because their club beat the Jordanian Armed Forces' club. This story is clearly false, did not take place, and shows Davies' true standard as a journalist. It also points to the role Davies is playing in diverting the attention of the friendly U.S. people from the Israeli practices against the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories in an attempt to ease what Israel is facing before world opinion and U.S. public opinion in particular.

This is Rick Davies' story. Similar stories take place several times a day worldwide. It is happening for the first time to a foreign journalist in Jordan. Hundreds of foreign journalists who have resided in Jordan know how much respect, love, and freedom they have received from Jordan on the official and popular levels. Any country that faces such behavior as that of Rick Davies, including the United States, has the right to ask a foreign correspondent to leave. This has happened in the United States and in other countries. Up to this point, the issue is understood and natural. However, it is strange for the official U.S. spokesman to criticize Jordan's decision to expel Rick Davies.

States have the right to ask ambassadors to leave if they misbehave. This happened to the United States itself, which remained silent on it. What, then, if this matter concerns a journalist who was disliked by all the journalists and officials whom he met in Jordan? Moreover, no one regretted the decision against Rick Davies except for the official U.S. spokesman who, we wish, had criticized scores of inhuman measures that Israel carries out daily in the occupied territories, or its practices in Lebanon, where a whole village was demolished over the heads of its inhabitants the day before yesterday.

In conclusion, Jordan knows Rick Davies' true motives and realizes that this clamor is only empty, irresponsible talk, which will not affect Jordan's known traditions of

welcoming its guests, whether journalists or others. Regarding the withdrawal of the accreditation of Miss Samirah Qa'war and Miss Lamis Andoni as correspondents of NBC and the international MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY, this issue is an internal affair which is of no concern to the official U.S. spokesman.

Husayn on Achievements, Political Stands

JN040752 Amman Domestic Service in Arabic 2020 GMT 3 May 88

[Speech by King Husayn ibn Talal at a fast-breaking dinner he hosted for "senior officials and officials of Amman Municipality" at the Al-Husayn Youth City in Amman on 3 May—recorded]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Good evening. I extend to you the greetings of the season. I hope that every year our homeland and every member of our one big family are well, thanks to God's help and care.

I am pleased to have these opportunities during this blessed month to meet with my brothers, dear ones, and comrades in this good and blessed country that is standing fast on the longest confrontation lines, and whose citizens are aware of the threats and challenges facing them—citizens who have determination and are loyal to the mission of our fathers and forefathers—and we have continued that mission after them—and loyal to the high banner of the Great Arab Revolt around which people with believing hearts, good souls, and strong arms have rallied and supported.

Our nation has never before experienced circumstances that have been as critical and serious. However, in the face of the challenges and threats we are proud of the family to which we belong. We are loyal to the goals and aims for which our fathers and forefathers have died. The Arabism and spirit of nobility that run through the veins of the people of this country, and our pride in what we see in our Arab world give us confidence and make us firmly believe that victory is inevitable. With the help of God our nation did not weaken in Palestine, in all the occupied territory, as manifested by the stand of the elderly, the youth, women, and children. By such a stand, after 20 years of occupation they have demonstrated to the world that they are Arabs who insist on their rights and do not bargain over them.

In another part of our great Arab homeland, Iraq has taken a manly and honorable stand defending Arab rights, Arab soil, and the Arab order. In these times Iraq has sacrificed men and martyrs in defense of this nation and its right to exist, under a true Arab leadership, and in a manner in which every Arab takes pride. Everyone, the people and the Army, have stood up to oppose aggressors that sought, and are seeking, to undermine Islam by using Islam to harm religion, and by using it to achieve objectives that clearly aim to establish a Persian empire—which will not be gained at the expense of Iraq alone, but also at the expense of the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula—and to control the holiest Muslim shrines in our Arab homeland.

Thus we find such dangers threatening the Arab homeland from various directions. However, such threats are constantly confronted by the faith of the believers, the determination of the loyal, and the firmness of men. Praise be to God, with regard to our journey in our country during the past years. These experiences have given Jordan a special position which, with the help of God, helps Jordan to carry out the role it has always sought in bringing about reconciliation and accord. With time, those who have not yet realized will realize that our sole objective, goal, and ambition is the good of the Arabs and the strength of the Arabs, and that we carry out our role toward future generations in the best possible manner throughout the great homeland. [applause]

During my meetings with your brothers during these days I discussed what we have achieved in building up our strength—an aspect we have never neglected and to which we have devoted our maximum resources. Strength is not only military strength. Our Arab army, the army of the Great Arab Revolt, grew from such strength, was founded on the principles of such strength, and grew in order to achieve its objectives. Praise be to God, there are now thousands of youths trained in the use of arms, in addition to the popular army as well as the reserves. They all carry the most sophisticated weapons—above all faith, loyalty, and military qualities that make our army an example in this part of the world, and indeed the whole world, through its self-discipline, readiness to carry out its duty, and its loyalty to the motto of every member of that army for they have on their heads the phrase the Arab army. [Applause]

All the great homeland is our homeland. There is no room for distinguishing between one part and another of this great homeland. In 1967 the battle was imposed on this nation and we fought out of loyalty and our firm commitment to the Arab League Charter and the joint Arab Defense Pact, and above all because we believed that if any part of the Arab homeland is threatened, all of us in the homeland are threatened. If the Arabs must fight we must fight together and throughout the Arab land.

On the domestic side, I have said the building of strength is not confined to the preparation of armies but includes other aspects of life where we have achieved a great deal—bearing in mind the great difference between us and the enemy which we face. The enemy receives support and backing, and vast financial resources. He borrows and his debts are canceled. Aid constantly inundates him. In comparison, what we receive is small—that used to be the case and is still the case, except for the determination, faith, and insistence on living honorably, defending our land, and carrying out our duty toward future generations with the help of God. [applause]

It may be appropriate to review some figures on what has been achieved, thanks to everyone's efforts. In 1953 there were 950 schools, and in 1988 there are 3,565 schools. In 1953 there were 169,000 school pupils, and now there are 963,000. Thirty-five years ago there were 5,081 teachers and now there are 42,533. We did not have community colleges and now we have 57 such colleges with 31,157 students. We have four universities including the most recent, the University of Mu'tah, a military-civilian university. There are 30,000 students in Jordanian universities.

The Ministry of Education's budget in 1953 was 385,000 dinars, and now it is 82 million dinars. In 1953 there were 10 hospitals, and now there are 55. There were 530 hospital beds, and now there are 5,797 hospital beds. There were 59 health centers, and now there are 473 health centers. There was 1 maternity and child care center in 1953, and there are 131 now. There were 185 doctors at the time, and now there are 4,838. There were 474 nurses, and now there are 1,898. There were 89 pharmacists and now there are 2,000. There were 19 municipal and rural council and joint services councils and now there are 611. Less than 20 percent of the population received the water supply, and now 96 percent receives water. Less than 15 percent received electricity compared to 96 percent now.

[In 1953] there were 995 km of paved roads and now there are 5,690 km. There were 170 mosques compared with 1,512 mosques today. There were 754 various companies and now there are 35,400. In 1953 companies capital totaled 91.8 million dinars, and now it is 2.1 billion dinars. Exports then totaled 1.3 million dinars, and now they total 248 million dinars. The number of employees in ministries and public establishments was approximately 10,000 in 1953 and is now 89,000. The gross domestic product was 50 million dinars, and now it is 1.696 billion dinars. The GNP was 51 million and now it is 1.839 billion dinars. There were 3 commercial banks with 13 branches compared with 18 banks with 274 branches now. Income from tourism in 1953 was 1.3 million dinars, in 1987 it was 190 million dinars.

The state budget was 13.4 million dinars in 1953, it is 1.575 billion dinars this year. In 1953 the East Bank's population was 586,000, and in 1988 it is 3,850,000.

These are some of the figures I wanted to quote so that we can get an idea of what we have achieved as a united Jordanian family along a serious and purposeful march. We are continuing our march on the road to achieving our goals. [applause] During my recent meetings with the kinfolk and brothers in the governorates, I talked about citizenship and about the need to be cautious and alert. This country sprang from the Great Arab Revolt. Therefore, regardless of the place and time and regardless of whoever joined its family, it is Jordanian Arab. It has rights and duties. In order that the uprising of the kinfolk and brothers in the occupied territory, in Jerusalem and elsewhere, achieves its objectives, we must continue in our work so that Jordan will remain an impregnable shield immune to enemy attempts to harm it. God forbid. In other words, every Jordanian must know that he has duties and rights. He receives his full rights as a true citizen if he wants to and if he respects this country's constitution, laws, and systems, and belongs to it with his heart and spirit.

From the beginning, this has not affected his rights to any degree, if he was originally Palestinian, on the soil of his homeland with regard to the final solution to the Palestine question. There cannot be such a solution unless it is just, honorable, and acceptable to the generations that come after us. In other words, a true citizen on this Arab soil. None of us can allow this land to become a substitute homeland. It is a homeland for every Jordanian Arab. The Palestinian's rights are not undermined, for his rights are there. We support him, as we have always done, with all of our capabilities and resources, so that he regains his full rights in his homeland. However, at the same time we must be alert to all evil attempts to undermine the unity of our ranks, our cohesion, our stand, our steadfastness, and our firmness by sowing doubt and discord in any way or means.

Consequently, we live on this land as a united family carrying out our duty. We do not deviate from our goals and objectives. We will carry out that duty in the best possible manner in support of our kinfolk and brothers, and to save the land and their rights, particularly in Arab Jerusalem, and in all the occupied territory. We do not allow our enemy and the enemy of our nation to harm us by any measure or to achieve his aim of turning the issue from one of a people with a land and who have rights to that land into an issue of a people searching for a land upon which they can establish their homeland. That is what he is trying to have the world believe. The Palestinian's homeland is there on his land and on his soil. We in Jordan are foremost among the Arabs in supporting and backing him so that he can regain his full rights. [applause]

When we talk about the international conference and Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 we mean convening an international conference with the participation and supervision of the five permanent member states of the UN Security Council and with the participation of all the parties to the conflict. Resolution 242 refers to the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war. Then there is the Palestine question and settling all its aspects. Such a solution can be achieved only by convening an international conference on the bases I have mentioned. To reach a solution, the Palestinians should represent themselves, have their say, and shoulder their responsibility with full support. Hence, we have been insisting since 1974 that the PLO is a legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people. We also continue our attempts to enable the PLO to play its role in representing the Palestinian people, who have elected the PLO for that role. Therefore, we will attend the international conference as a sovereign and independent

country. We will not represent our Palestinian people at the international conference. We will not represent or be an alternative to the PLO. We insist on attending the conference. At the same time, we also announce our readiness to attend the conference in a joint delegation. By this, I mean a Palestinian delegation, the PLO, and the representatives of the Palestinian Arab people and a Jordanian delegation. We must continue to build our power and prepare ourselves. I am fully confident that sooner or later the rights will be regained and the land will be restored to its owners.

We will continue to support our brothers in the great homeland, cooperate with them, look forward to the future, continue to be a factor in achieving accord, agreement, understanding, and real cooperation. The nation is one, the goals are one, and the destiny is one. Through this concept, we can overcome all differences and their causes. No one is immortal in this world except Almighty God. It is the duty of the nation in the great homeland and of every official on any level to work for the coming generations. We hope they will judge in favor and not against us. We hope the judgement will be a fair one. We beseech God to grant us peace of mind every day and everywhere regarding our work, efforts, and sacrifices. Almighty God is the protector of the march and the giver of success.

What has been and will be important to me is my belonging to you. I have tried and will continue to try to satisfy my conscience and act in accordance with your desires, aspirations, and goals. I hope God will grant us success and enable us to meet again and again. Please forgive me if my responsibilities and the honor of the job among you, with you, and for you have deprived me for a long time of such meetings with the citizens in our beloved country. With all my energies, I have been trying on the Arab, Islamic, and international levels to relay your voice and aspirations to other nations. This country has a special and distinguished position in this world. God be praised.

Once again, I affirm to you that I feel happy when I am with you. God bless you all. My greetings, love, appreciation, and gratitude to all the kinfolk and brothers. Plaese convey this to everyone. Many happy returns.

King on PLO Delegation to Peace Conference

JN0510340 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic
5 May 88 p 16

[Speech by King Husayn ibn Talal at a fast-breaking dinner in Al-Mafraq on 4 May]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Tonight in this meeting with kinfolk, dear brothers and family, I express my pride in you all and my thanks, appreciation, and gratitude to you as you have always been as good as was expected of you, sons and daughters of this country. I am glad to have the opportunity to meet with you in this wide governorate in this blessed month. I assure you that we will constantly work, using all in our power and capability, to build this homeland so that it will be an example and a model for our brothers in our big homeland. [passage omitted]

Israel has not realized that force is not the means for life. Consequently 20 years of its occupation of the Arab territories have not ended the ambitions of old men, women, children, and men. They have not abandoned their Arab feelings. The Arabs under occupation have adopted this firm stand.

Force in itself has not given Israel peace and security so far. I am also confident that this operation in Lebanon, news of which we are following, will not achieve Israel's various aims concerning its security. Peace and security can only be achieved through justice and a feeling by everybody that they live under peace, which they and future generations accept.

We must work to build up our strength. We must be prepared for any eventuality. We must also search for peace if it is possible to achieve it. The picture is clear as regards the international conference, the participation of the five permanent Security Council member states, the supervision of the conference, and the attendance of all parties including the PLO. We will not be an alternative to the PLO, nor will we represent the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people, through their organisation, as well as the whole Arab nation including ourselves, want the Palestinians to represent themselves and say their word. We have not closed the door completely.

If there were an international conference, we are a sovereign country with the longest confrontation line. We have an issue. But we are ready to consider the idea of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation if this is the wish of the PLO and the Palestinian Arab people. In the past, we have tried to crystallize a formula of future Jordanian-Palestinian relations based on the links and bonds between us. We discussed the subject of this delegation in an earlier stage because we were dealing with what we saw as possible and to enable the PLO to attend the conference and play its role. When I say joint delegation, I mean a delegation with half of its members from the PLO, and the other half from Jordan. A delegation representing the Palestinian side, and another delegation representing the Jordanian side. The PLO is left to choose whether it wants this. This is possible. If better circumstances occur, we may look into this and move on this direction. If, on the other hand, the PLO wants to go it alone and that was possible, then we would be very glad.

I am talking about a joint delegation because it has been proved to us that the PLO contacted a brotherly Arab country requesting a joint delegation with it. The PLO is not against the principle of a joint delegation.

We wish for the PLO what we wish for ourselves. We are leaders in supporting and backing it with all our resources and capabilities. We have been facing a lot in the past years, trying to build up our strength as a country. We have been facing economic and financial problems, whether some of our brothers and kinfolk realize this or not. We are facing challenges, dangers, and evils, which do not threaten us alone but all Arabs everywhere. We are facing a military force that receives constant material support. In fact, if we consider our achievements, despite our limited resources, and thanks to help from our brothers in the big homeland—which sometimes may be less than what they have committed themselves to compared to the money and means of strength lavished on Israel—I think we bear the heavier burden. We have achieved a lot with few resources. We, God willing, will continue building our strength to achieve our rights and be a fortress and shield that protect this nation.

We hear a lot about nationalist forces and nationalist elements as we, these days, discuss our matters and affairs within the framework of the family to which we belong. There is no certain group in Jordan that has the right to claim that it is nationalist [wataniyah] or to be described as nationalist by others. Nationalist forces are the collective resistance by any people of the colonizer, the foreign occupier. All our kinfolk and brothers in the occupied territories are nationalist forces confronting this colonialist invasion. Here, this country is the property of its sons. All are equals in rights and duties. After the end of colonization in any country, some people from the sons of that country may show some activity. They might be called activists. However, this does not necessarily mean that these forces are nationalist. They may work to serve the country, they may follow parties outside the country, and they might have other purposes.

But here on this land, all are equal. We have inherited the principles of the Great Arab Revolt, its aims and objectives. Every Arab nationalist, regardless of the area his father or grandfather came from, is a Jordanian with full rights. But he also has the duty of respecting the Constitution and the family to which he belongs. The aim of this talk is to promote national unity and close any gap through which the enemy may infiltrate to achieve its purposes and aims in distortion and casting doubts.

As for the Palestinians and brother Jordanians of Palestinian origin, we are with them and for them as we have always been. Their rights there will be regained sooner or later, God willing.

We must meet and be alert and vigilant. Israel and its backers have spared no effort to attack us in all possible aspects, including the personal aspect. They have launched a continuous doubt-casting campaign using all their capacity. I can tell you with an easy conscience that we have knocked on all doors to achieve your aims, our aims, and the aims of all Arabs. But, thank God, we have not and will not bargain a single inch of Arab land or a single Arab right, especially of our kinfolk, brothers, and sons. As a Hashemite, I will never, nor will anyone from my family or from this country ever violate the 'Umari document [al-wathiqah al-'Umariyah], whatever the strength of Israel, whether nuclear or military.

Whatever arms it possesses, the land is bound to return to its owners, and the international peace conference is bound to convene in accordance with Resolution Nos 242 and 338. All the occupied territories must be returned, and the issue must be solved in all its dimensions. Arab Jerusalem must return to Arab sovereignty. If peace is achieved, it will be a peace that guarantees the rights of everybody regardless of elements of strength or weakness. We are with the Arabs, for the Arabs, and for Palestine. We will be in the lead confronting all enemy schemes against our big homeland. God protect you and our procession. I am sure that right will inevitably triumph. My thanks, appreciation, and gratitude for all of you.

This is an opportunity that has allowed me to meet brothers in arms, some still wearing miltiary uniform, and to meet heroes who sacrificed, fought, and bore responsibility. God bless you, and I hope to have this opportunity every year. God be with you, and peace be upon you.

PLO's Mahmud 'Abbas Arrives for Talks 5 May

JN060711 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic
6 May 88 pp 1, 14

[Text] Mahmud 'Abbas, alias Abu Mazin, PLO Executive Committee member, arrived in Amman yesterday afternoon on a visit lasting several days. Abu Mazin will brief Jordanian officials on the results of PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat's talks with Soviet and Syrian leaders and discuss with them ways to support the popular uprising in the occupied territories and preparations for 'Arafat's visit to Jordan.

He will also hold talks with Marwan Dudin, minister of occupied territories affairs and head of the Jordanian side to the joint [Jordanian-PLO] committee, and with officials in the committee's General Secretariat on the committee's activities and responsibilities in light of developments in the occupied homeland.

It is known that Abu Mazin has been chosen to succeed martyr Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] in chairing the Palestinian side to the joint committee. Muhammad Milhim and 'Abd al-Rahim Ahmad, PLO Executive Committee members, also returned to Amman yesterday. They will join Abu Mazin's talks with Jordanian officials.

Release of 'All' Palestinian Detainees Approved
JN041851 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic
3 May 88 pp 1, 20

["Exclusive"]

[Text] King Husayn of Jordan has approved the release of detainees of all Palestinian factions from Jordanian prisons.

AL-SIYASAH has learned that the approval was in response to a request by Umm Jihad, the wife of martyred Palestinian leader Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], when the king received her in the company of a Palestinian delegation consisting of Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih, PNC speaker; Salim al-Za'nun, PNC deputy speaker and Fatah Central Committee member; Rafiq al-Natshah, Fatah Central Committee member; and 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Yahya, PLO Executive Committee member.

The Palestinian delegation asked to meet with the king in reply to his gesture in being the first to call on Umm Jihad to express his condolences on the death of the leader Abu Jihad.

After leaving the bereaved family, the king contacted Umm Jihad by telephone and informed her that Jordan's doors are open to her and the family of the martyr.

Half an hour later, Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i also contacted Umm Jihad by telephone and told her an official decision was made to open Jordan's doors to Abu Jihad's family and to meet all its requirements.

Following this gesture by the king and the government in Jordan, the Palestinian delegation which came to Jordan to accept condolences on the martyrdom of Abu Jihad requested a meeting with the king to thank him. The king responded to this request after only half an hour.

During this meeting, and after the king had spoken to the Palestinian delegation on the circumstances of the assassination of the Palestinian leader, the members of the delegation were surprised by Umm Jihad addressing the king saying: Your Majesty, you asked me at lunchtime if I had any request. I now request that Your Majesty release the detainees of fedayeen organizations in Jordan. The king asked her: Which detainees? She replied: The detainees of all factions. I leave it to your wisdom.

The king responded to her request and asked the Palestinian delegation to provide the Jordanian authorities with a list of detainees of all Palestinian factions so meassures will be taken to release them immediately.

AL-SIYASAH has also learned that PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat will visit Amman before the emergency Arab summit which will be held in Algiers during the first week of June. The visit is in response to an invitation from King Husayn.

Sources belive 'Arafat's response to the invitation is almost certain following King Husayn's gesture to release detainees of all Palestinian factions. Therefore, contacts are expected to take place between the Palestinian and Jordanian sides in the next few days to prepare for this visit. The two sides are expected during this visit to agree on a joint working paper on the Palestine question and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's initiative to be presented to the Arab summit.

The PLO had also agreed with Syria to submit a joint working paper. Therefore, action is being taken to go to the summit with a unified Palestinian-Syrian-Jordanian stand.

Central Bank Intervenes To Stabilize Dollar
JN040851 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
4 May 88 p 6

[By Salamih Ni'matt, JORDAN TIMES staff reporter]

[Text] Amman—U.S. dollar holders amassed windfall profits over Monday and Tuesday and some bargain hunters had their fingers burnt as dollar prices soared and plummeted in the local market.

A relatively high demand for the U.S. dollar here Monday caused panic as banks and moneychangers scrambled to buy foreign currencies, raising the dollar's value by about six per cent.

The panic subsided Tuesday as the Central Bank of Jordan (CBJ) intervened to stabilise the dollar, bringing its value from a Monday high of 370 fils to about 350 fils Tuesday. It was anticipated to reach 400 fils.

"It was a quiet market today," said Jordan Investment and Finance Director General Basil Jardanih Tuesday. "Nothing compared to yesterday."

According to Jardanih, the CBJ had stopped offering foreign currency to commercial banks for about 10 days until Monday when these banks panicked and scrambled to buy foreign currencies in an unorganised manner.

"The Central Bank intervened and stopped the dollar hike bringing its value down by a substanial amount," Jardanih told the JORDAN TIMES. "The market has been stabilised," he added.

Jardanih hinted that an industrial crises involving Jordanian exports to Iraq may have had indirectly influenced the brief instability in currency prices against the Jordanian dinar.

"There had been some uncertainty in the market," he said, "but it has been stabilised in a good manner."

He said the CBJ may have had deliberately allowed the short instability as a test of market forces, but there was no way to immediately get a CBJ response.

Salfiti Securities' chief dealer Fu'ad Batshun said the dollar price fluctuation was a simple reaction to a supply and demand market. He said that the CBJ intervened Tuesday in heavy volumes, restoring the dollar to near its value before the Monday hike.

"There is no more panic in the market, "Batshun said describing the market Tuesday.

"Everybody was shocked yesterday," he said. "It was a healthy move by the Central Bank to intervene."

Jardanih anticipates the dollar's selling rate Wednesay to hover around the 355 fils mark.

According to financial dealers contacted by the JORDAN TIMES, the CBJ move restored dealers' confidence in its ability to stablize the money market and control instabilities in a swift manner. But reports of low foreign exchange reserves at the Central Bank continue to cause uncertainties among dealers, according to the financial dealers.

A government announcement on Monday that it will not finance Jordanian exports to Iraq in excess of a $185 million ceiling allocated in a Jordanian-Iraqi trade protocol may also be a cause of concern. Jordanian exporters have nearly $300 million worth of opened letters of credit that remain to be settled outside the trade protocol with Iraq, pending further negotiations between the Jordanian and Iraqi Governments.

Further Reportage on Israeli Deployment in South

800 Soldiers Remain

NC0505145988 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 5 May 88

[Excerpts] Citing a security source in western Al-Biqa', AFP has reported that approximately 800 Israeli soldiers were still deployed in southeastern Lebanon this morning, despite the fact Israel declared an end to its operation in that area yesterday. [passage omitted]

A wounded resistance fighter told an AFP correspondent that he and six colleagues left Maydun at dawn today, but were intercepted by Israeli soldiers. He said one of his colleagues was killed, another was seriously wounded, and four were missing.

Gunboats Illuminate Shore

NC0505195488 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1945 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Israeli gunboats have been cruising the shore from Al-Rashidiyah to Al-Qasimiyah in the South since 2100 today. The gunboats are illuminating the area.

Israelis, SLA Withdrawing

NC0505182888 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1645 GMT 5 May 88

[Excerpts] While Israeli sources talk of the withdrawal of Israeli and South Lebanese Army forces from the areas they entered in the past 2 days, security sources speak of the continuing presence of an 800-man Israeli force. [passage omitted]

Hizballah sources have said that 10 party members were killed in yesterday's clashes between fundamentalist groups and Israeli forces and added that the death toll is not yet final.

Meanwhile, Hizballah members today brought into northern Maydun along the 'Ayn al-Tinah axis reinforcements of machineguns, antiaircraft guns, and rocket launchers.

Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli, Hizballah official in the Al-B. a', held a news conference in Mashgarah and announced that 25 Israelis had been killed in yesterday's fighting. [passage omitted]

Remain Near Maydun

NC0605065888 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 0545 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Several hours after the departure of the South Lebanese Army [SLA] from the village of Maydun in western Al-Biqa', correspondents for Western news agencies have reported that gunmen belonging to the so-called Islamic resistance have begun to return to the village.

Among those who have returned are Hizballah's Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli and Shaykh Ibrahim al-Amin, whose stronghold was completely destroyed.

According to the latest reports from the area, an Israeli force is still in position on the hills overlooking Maydun, while another force is deployed in 'Ayn al-Tinah.

According to security sources, an Israeli Army force, equipped with vehicles and tanks, is in the area between Tallat 'Ali al-Tahir and Jazzin.

Meanwhile, Hizballah has announced that 15 of its supporters were killed, 12 others wounded, and 4 captured during clashes with the Israeli Army yesterday. SLA Commander General Antoine Lahd has asked the International Red Cross to receive the bodies of 15 extremists.

Amal-Hizballah Clash in Southern Suburb; 4 Dead

NC0605071188 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0615 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] A squabble between Hizballah and Amal elements in Hayy Madi in the southern suburb of Beirut developed into a clash at 0230 today. Three persons from the Nasir al-Din family and one person from the Dib family were killed.

Immediately afterward, Amal gunmen set up roadblocks in Hayy Madin, Al-Ghubayrah, and Al-Shiyah and arrested a number of Hizballah gunmen. Members of the Nasir al-Din family threatened to storm the Hizballah-controlled Shura center in Hayy Madi unless the murderers, including a certain Falah, the brother of the head of the security service in charge of protecting Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, were handed over.

Explosions Heard

NC0605094388 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0915 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Clashes involving the use of all kinds of weapons are taking place between Amal and Hizballah in the Bi'r al-'Abd and Hayy Madi areas [in Beirut's southern suburb]. Explosions can be heard in the capital and other nearby areas.

Inter-Palestinian Clashes in Shatila Camp

NC0505151888 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 1445 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] At around 1630 today the security situation flared up again between the Abu Musa-led dissidents and Fatah Movement fighters in the Shatila camp. Rockets and machineguns are being used in the clashes.

There was earlier fighting between the pro-'Arafat Fatah elements and members of Fatah—the Uprising on the camp's Ariha axis at about 1400. Meanwhile, a Palestinian source in Baghdad has disclosed that more than 90

percent of the Palestinian dissidents have announced their return to the Fatah Movement. These fighters, the source added, are present in the 'Ayn al-Hulwah, Al-Miyah Wa Miyah, Burj al-Barajinah, and Shatila camps in Lebanon.

Dissidents Rally to PLO

NC0505153988 Paris AFP in English 1500 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Sidon, Lebanon, May 5 (AFP)—Partisans of Fatah Uprising, a pro-Syrian Palestinian group, have given up their military positions around this south Lebanon city and rallied to the leadership of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, correspondents reported Thursday.

Their regional leader, Abu Nasir, left the Sidon area during the morning for an unknown destination, Palestinian sources said.

The shift came 10 days after Mr. 'Arafat held a reconciliatory meeting in Damascus with Syrian President al-Asad.

In Sidon, some 300 Fatah Uprising guerrillas rejoined the ranks of Fatah, the mainstream PLO group led by Mr. 'Arafat. They turned over 11 of their 12 positions: eight in 'Ayn al-Hulwah refugee camp, two in Al-Miyah Wa Miyah, and one east of the port city, correspondents said.

Seventeen dissidents who refused to make the shift remained holed up in an abandoned village east of Sidon, Palestinian sources said.

South of the city, the 20 members of Fatah Uprising in Al-Rashidiyah camp gave up their weapons and joined the ranks of various other Palestinian groups, correspondents there said.

In Damascus, a spokesman for Fatah Uprising denied the desertion of Sidon members, accusing "'Arafat's gangs of provoking our fighters to drag them into inter-Palestinian combat."

Fatah, in a communique released here, said that after the April 24 'Arafat-Al-Asad meeting, it was "normal that the dissidents announce the dissolution of their organization, because it has become a burden for those closest to it," meaning Syria.

The communique accused the dissidents of having provoked the inter-Palestinian clashes last weekend in Shatila camp on the southern edge of Beirut.

Fatah Uprising was founded by Abu Musa [Sa'id Musa Muraghah] in 1983 and was backed by Syria as it challenged Mr. 'Arafat's leadership. It was estimated to have some 5,000 members.

Clashes Resume 6 May

NC0605064888 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0615 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The cease-fire agreement reached yesterday among the Palestinian factions did not last long. Since 0530 today, violent clashes have been taking place in Shatila camp between Fatah and PNSF gunmen. Rockets and 106-mm guns are being used in the fighting.

During a meeting yesterday evening, representatives of the leftist parties and the various Palestinian factions agreed on a cease-fire. The conferees also agreed that a buffer force should deploy between the two warring sides.

West Beirut Cinema Blown Up; 3 Injured

NC0505171088 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Internal security sources have reported that an explosion took place inside the El Dorado Cinema in the Al-Hamra' District of West Beirut at 1725 today.

Three people were injured and two of them are said to be in critical condition. Ambulances rushed to the scene. A military expert examined the site and found that a device with 2 kg of TNT caused the explosion. The theater building suffered heavy material damage.

Car Explodes in Al-Batrun; 3 Injured

NC0605075088 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 0615 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] A white Mercedes blew up in front of a gas station in Al-Batrun at 0605 today, shattering window panes within a radius of 800 meters and causing extensive property damage. The gas station is owned by former Deputy Sayyid 'Aql.

According to eyewitnesses, the booby-trapped car appeared at the gas station at 0550. Five minutes later, a green Mercedes arrived at the scene and took the driver of the first car away on the pretext that he was looking for gas station attendants to fill up his car. The explosion occurred 10 minutes later.

[Paris AFP in English at 0747 GMT on 6 May in a Tripoli-datelined report says: "A car bomb exploded early Friday in the Syrian-controlled town of Al-Batrun, near here, injuring three people, police said."]

Afghanistan

Government Outlines Plans For Return of Refugees

LD0505213188 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Our compatriots know that the Republic of Afghanistan is very concerned about the situation of Afghan emigrants who are temporarily staying in foreign countries. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has always tried to pave the ground for the safe and volantary return of our emigrant compatriots by removing obstacles.

The national reconciliation policy, which was declared simultaneously with the issue of the general amnesty decree, has accelerated the process of the return of emigrants. The process of the return of our patriotic and aware compatriots has intensified daily with the strengthening of the people's trust in the victory of this humane policy.

The decree on nonprosecution for committing previous deeds against the state, the return of properties and assests, exemption from taxes and fines by banks, the right to continue education, the right to work, and the right to participate equally in organizing the political, economic, and social side of the country for returnees leaves no room for doubt and suspicion by those people who have been deceived as a result of hostile and false propaganda.

The establishment of the state committee for the return of emigres within the framework of the Council of Ministers is the demonstration of practical and honest measures by the state to provide the necessary facilities for returnees and their resettlement.

Receiving our returnee compatriots—whose number reaches tens of thousands of persons—at the border receiving centers and in the peace guesthouses in the cities, their transportation to residential areas, the initial assistance, and the provision of coupons for consumer goods are an illustrative example of the fact that the Republic of Afghanistan honestly fulfills its promises.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, like the rest of the world, believes that the voluntary return of emigrants is the main aim and is one of the ways to resolve the problems of emigrants. In the middle of last year the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan requested the UN high commissioner for refugees to provide assistance for the return of Afghan emigrants and their resettlement, taking into account his protective [as heard] responsibilities.

The readiness of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan to welcome the delegation of the UN high commissioner for refugees, which officially visited Afghanistan some time ago, was praised by the high commissioner. In a meeting between the foreign minister of the Republic of Afghanistan and the UN high commissioner for refugees in Geneva, the UN high commissioner for refugees gave his assurance of such assistance. Taking into account the agreement which was signed recently in Geneva between the Republic of Afghanistan and the UN high commissioner for refugees, an office of the commissioner will shortly be opened in Kabul.

The Republic of Afghanistan demands international efforts for the protection and assistance of Afghan emigrants and also attaches much value to the role of propaganda and [word indistinct] of measures which have been planned in the country for the reception and resettlement of the emigrants and to the credible legal guarantees which have been given in this connection.

Unfortunately, measures by and the readiness of the Republic of Afghanistan to receive the emigrants have not been reflected in a worthy manner in the mass media of certain countries, or, to put it more clearly, the mass media of these countries remain prey to old propaganda methods. They either do not reflect the effective and constructive measures taken by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan in this sphere or distort and undermine them.

The Republic of Afghanistan, taking into account its grave concern for the fate of Afghan emigrants, has tried to ensure that the issue of the return of emigrants is reflected fairly in the documents of the Geneva accords and that the responsibilities of the sides concerned are (?listed) exactly.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, following the measures which have been taken in light of the national reconciliation policy, which is aimed at the voluntary and safe return of our compatriots to their proud country, has formulated practical plans to meet the requirements of any mass return. These include the return process, reception at the borders and peace guesthouses, and transportation to the residences of the returnees and their resettlement.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, taking into account the bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the voluntary return of emigrants, wants to be able to welcome the returnee compatriots in a worthy manner. It is certain that by guaranteeing their rights and concessions, as with other citizens of Afghanistan, they will play their valuable role in organizing national life and constructing a blossoming society for Afghanistan.

We are sure, in view of the facilities which have been provided in the country, that with the cooperation of the sides concerned and the assistance of international societies, particularly the UN high commissioner for refugees, our compatriots will voluntarily return to their homeland and resettle successfully.

300 Returnee Centers Created

LD0505195288 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] BAKHTAR reports: The Republic of Afghanistan has taken necessary and practical measures with regard to the voluntary return of Afghan emigrants to the country. Instructions have been given to the Committee on Returnee Affairs to use all its efforts to provide facilities for the return of the emigrants. As a consequence, more than 300 centers, complete with full facilities, have been created to receive the emigrants. More than 10,000 emigrant compatriots are being welcomed into these centers and guesthouses daily.

The Committee on Returnee Affairs, using extensive assistance provided by the state, and financial and material aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with the all-round contribution of our people, is striving to fill the guesthouses with food, primary necessities, medical teams, and many other forms of assistance and make them ready for the mass return of emigrants to the country.

With the signing of the Geneva accords, our peace-loving compatriots have expanded their aid to the emigrants and a flood of contributions to the returnee fund is continuing. To help the emigrants, more than 9 million afghanis have been contributed to the returnee fund by social organizations and establishments and more than 800,000 afghanis have been contributed by private investors.

Among the peace guesthouses, which are ready to receive Afghan emigrants, is the peace guesthouse of Kabul, which was recently opened in honor of the 10th anniversary of the Sawr revolution and can receive 700 guests at once. This guesthouse has been built in two separate blocks and has three stories. The building has been provided with plumbing, electricity, central heating, and telephones. It was built at a cost of 140 million Afghanis from the state budget.

Bangladesh

Ershad Urges Shanti Bahini To End Violence

BK0505162088 Dhaka Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] President Ershad has reiterated his government's stand for the solution of the tribal problem through open mind discussions within the framework of the national constitution, upholding national independence and sovereignty.

He was addressing a gathering of local leaders including those of tribal population and upazilla [subdistrict] and union parishad [councils] chairmen in Khagrachari today. The president asserted that complete peace and law and order have been prevailing in the [Chittagong] Hill Tracts, excepting some cowardly acts of so-called Shanti Bahini [army of peace] in recent days in which innocent lives fell victims to their atrocities.

Expressing his grief at the atrocities by the Shanti Bahini, the president said he gave the clarion call to the Shanti Bahini to live in harmony as brothers, leaving aside suicidal activities. Many of them have reciprocated and laid down their arms to join the mainstream of the population. The rest of refugees are not being allowed to come back by intimidation because the vested quarters are trying to prove that minorities are being subjected to harassment here. The conspiracy behind the Shanti Bahini activities is quite clear as everybody knows from where they operate and where they have their sanctuaries.

The president said the reasons for which Shanti Bahini have taken up arms have no logical backup in the present day context following the reconciliation measures taken by the government. Knowing all this if they still a fall prey to the conspiracy, then they will turn out to be pawns of others' games at their own cost, their own happiness, and peace. The president appealed to all citizens of the hill districts, including the tribal people, to live as members of one single family in their homeland in pains and pleasures. He also urged them to resist the ominous designs of the Shanti Bahini which will hamper the development initiative taken for this region.

Turning to those who are providing sanctuaries to the Shanti Bahini, the president called upon them to refrain from doing so and thus help restore peace in a SAARC country. He said the terrorism created by Shanti Bahini is not only directed against the Bengali population in the hill tracts, but also against their national independence and sovereignty. The president firmly asserted that the government will never compromise on questions of national independence and sovereignty and people to the last drop of their blood and will protect every inch of their territory.

The presidential adviser on tribal affairs, B.K. Tawang, and Upendra Lal Chakma also addressed the meeting. Information Minister Mahbubul Rahman, Chief of Army Staff Lieutenant General M. Atiqur Rahman, and local area commander Major General Abdus Salam were also present on the occasion.

Earlier, President Ershad flew straight to Malangipara in Manekchori upazilla to see the signs of atrocities by Shanti Bahini on the first of this month in which some 15 people were killed. He talked to the affected people and gave them cash money for rehabilitation. He also assured them of necessary help to build their houses. The president also talked to a few thousand people who have taken shelter in the upazilla headquarters following the incident and assured their rehabilitation.

Foreign Minister Humayun Rashid Chowdhury has said Bangladesh is determined to take back all the tribal people who crossed over to India and it guarantees the

safety of their lives and properties. He was making a statement in Jatiya Sangsad [parliament] this afternoon on an adjournment motion on the recent brutal killings in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The motion was moved by Mr Nurul Islam. Independent. The foreign minister said the Chittagong Hill Tracts problem is an internal problem of Bangladesh and its solution would be found internally. He said no foreign country has the right to interfere in this internal matter. The adjournment motion was talked out in the house after over 2 hours discussion. Ten members, including the leader of the opposition, A.S.M. Abdur Rab, took part.

India

Najibullah Continues Visit to New Delhi

4 May Banquet Speech

LD0505184288 Kabul BAKHTAR in Dari 1130 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Kabul, 5 May (BAKHTAR)—Text of the statement by Esteemed Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, at a dinner on the evening of 4 May 1988, given in his honor by his excellency the president of India at the Republican Palace in New Delhi:

Your Excellency, Shri R. Venkataraman, allow me on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and on behalf of my companions, to thank you for your warm and friendly welcome in this ancient land, a land of natural beauty, great historical precedence, and a model of peace and nonalignment. Our delegation will long remember this visit. I also thank you for your fraternal and warm words about our country, people, and delegation. I have the honor, on behalf of my people, to convey sincere wishes to the people of your great land, who are the guardians of human civilization.

We attach great importance to consolidating our fraternal relations with India, with whom we share some common history. We know that the Afghan and Indian nations, which today operate in an atmosphere of freedom and reconstruction, have strong roots and relations in their centuries-old history, in their common cultural life, in their traditional way of living, and in their religious and philosophical customs.

The people of Afghanistan, who were brought up in a free motherland, are proud of having such a good neighbor and wish to confirm the glorious struggles of your people. We draw strength from the evolution of your people. Evolution brought with it freedom-loving ideals and high cultural values, as reflected in the ideals and struggles of the late leaders Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Indira Gandhi, and gave strong credibility to your country in today's international community. Today's India has gained great achievements in social and economic areas.

It is not incidental that here in this city the well-known Delhi Declaration, which invited the people of the world to build a peaceful world free from nuclear weapons and the use of force,and free from fear and mistrust, was signed. Your friends in Afghanistan, on the basis of their country's foreign policy, are following the path of defending international peace; eliminating destructive nuclear weapons; solving regional tensions through diplomacy and negotiations; defending the rights of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America for self-determination without foreign interference and the freedom of choice in their political and social system; and creating an atmosphere of trust and cooperation on the regional and international level.

The Republic of Afghanistan considers the signing of the treaty for the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles by the Soviet Union and the United States during the Washington summit as a great step toward the elimination of nuclear weapons. We hope that the result of the Moscow meeting between the leaders of the two countries will result in a 50 percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons.

The policy of the Republic of Afghanistan today is not to simply support the new political approach of solving regional disputes through diplomacy; it has taken the first step toward a practical solution of one of the most complex regional problems.

The signing of the Geneva accords for resolving the situation around Afghanistan and the policy of national reconciliation is viewed as a particular form of social and political compromise toward the cessation of bloodshed in the country, and the formation of a broad-based government—even to the point of a coalition. In a multidimentional society and a society with a multiparty parliamentary system and a multistructural economy, this signing is of itself the most outstanding manifestation of a logical mind, which shows that the peoples of the region can solve their problems themselves without help from the superpowers.

I would like to reiterate the recent initiative of the Republic of Afghanistan that I stated to journalists prior to my departure from Kabul. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan is ready, without any precondition or limitation, to invite all the opposition forces, be they in Pakistan, Rome, London, Bonn, or the United States, to take part in a nationwide peace assembly aimed at solving the internal aspects of the question of Afghanistan. The doors of this peace assembly are open to all. I am confident that the war-weary people of Afghanistan would resolutely welcome our constructive initiative.

With the signing of these accords and the implementation of the policy of reconciliation, your friends in Afghanistan are seriously making efforts to open a new chapter of living in peace and good-neighborliness with all countries of the region, including Pakistan and China.

This is of itself indicative of the political realism and new thinking in dealing with international affairs. We will implement, in accordance with these accords, our pledges in the best manner, which will begin in 10 days, and we expect the same from the other countries concerned.

From the midst of the tragedies of a destructive war, today all our true friends, including the Soviet Union and India, are awaiting with great interest for the rise of a powerful, peaceful, prosperous, nonaligned, and neutral country, friendly to all our neighbors, the nonaligned countries, the Islamic countries and the world, without consideration of their social system; a country that respects and does not interfere in the affairs of others, cooperates with the countries of the region, and desires human tranquillity.

We are deeply grateful for the consistent and selfless assistance of the Soviet Union, our northern neighbor, in helping us to realize this great national aspiration. The Soviet Union helped us safeguard our national sovereignty and independence at critical moments in our history, and during our prosperity and construction. We are witnessing the expansion of these multilateral relations based on our customary traditional relations, equality, and mutual cooperation.

The new Afghanistan, and the foundation of its construction, which is embodied in our constitution and based on our national interests, will be nonaligned and, following tradition, will be Islamic and neutral. The Geneva accords have resulted in a new atmosphere both inside and outside the country. We expect all countries to support the process and our efforts to maintain peace and stability in our country and in the region, and to help us.

Your Excellency, as the new Afghanistan is being built, we will never forget India's effective support and selfless assistance, a firm friend in the most critical moments, in the form of political affirmation in international forums, and in consistent economic, social, and cultural assistance. This friendly approach is held in high esteem by grateful Afghans. We will always work to strengthen relations and cooperation with your country in resolving acute regional and international problems. Our people highly respect the foresight and political wisdom of Your Excellency.

On behalf of the people of Afghanistan, I wish you health and success in your noble task toward peace, and the prosperity of your country, and wish prosperity and tranquillity for your people. Long live the great Indian people. Long live Afghan-Indian friendship.

Meets With President, Gandhi

LD0605082888 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0421 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] New Delhi, May 5, OANA-BAKHTAR—Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, met Mr. Ramaswamy Venkataraman, the president of the Republic of India Wednesday evening, reports our special reporter.

The Afghan president thanked for warm and friendly welcome given to Afghan delegation. "The current visit is of historic significance and will help the existing all sided relations between the two countries be consolidated and strengthened ever further", said the Afghan president.

Touching upon the historic ties exist between the two countries, President Najibullah said that the course of events has given a common destiny to the peoples of Afghanistan and India.

The Afghan people are happy that great achievements have been scored by the people of India. The Afghan president also talked during the meeting about the policy of national accord and mutual effects of Geneva accords and the process which is aimed at halting fratricide in the country.

The president of the Republic of India said, "the ties between the peoples of India and Afghanistan have historic roots and they should ascend in the future, too". The Afghan president had also a meeting with the Indian prime minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. They during their meeting which lasted more than two hours discussed world and regional problems in detail. They expressed convictions that the process of solution of issues in and around Afghanistan is a distinguished manifestation of solving regional conflicts by dialogue and diplomacy.

The Afghan president briefed the Indian prime minister about the achievements scored as a result of implementation of national reconciliation.

The two sides stressed on effects of Geneva accords upon the course of developments in the region and utilisation of possibilities created due to new developments in the interest of peace and stability in the region and expansion of cooperation an different spheres.

Stresses was also made on the ever further expansion of cooperations in economic, trade and cultural fields between the two countries.

Further on Gandhi Talks

LD0505190388 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Esteemed Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, who is paying an official visit to India, held talks today with His Excellency R. Gandhi, prime minister of India. At their meeting, which lasted 2 hours, they held thorough talks and discussions on a wide range of issues, including bilateral relations and regional and international issues. They paid particular attention to the Geneva accords, their practical implementation, and the situation since their signing.

An official spokesman of the Indian Government said these talks between the leaders of the two countries took place in a warm, friendly, and sincere atmosphere.

Esteemed President Najibullah today also met separately with N.D. Tiwari, minister of finance and commerce; Natwar Singh, minister of state for external affairs; and Narasimha Rao, minister of human resources development.

The Indian press, stressing the importance of the talks in New Delhi in further normalizing the situation in the region, expresses full support for the initiative of the Indian prime minister, who has invited the president of a neighboring friendly country to the capital of India.

The papers say that the whole world has welcomed the signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and expressed support for every phase of the implementation of these accords.

Gandhi Hosts Reception

LD0505191488 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] His Excellency R. Gandhi, the Indian prime minister, gave a reception this evening, at Hyderabad House in honor of esteemed President Najibullah. In addition to the delegation of Esteemed Najibullah and a number of Indian cabinet and parliament members, the reception was attended by political and social figures in India, the ambassador of Afghanistan in India, and the ambassador of India to the Republic of Afghanistan.

Tiwari Offers Assistance

BK0505130488 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] India today offered all possible help to Afghanistan in its massive program of reconstruction and rehabilitation after the return of the refugees. The offer was made by the finance minister, Mr N.D. Tiwari, when he called on the visiting Afghan president, Dr Najibullah, in New Delhi. The two leaders reviewed the ongoing economic cooperation program. They decided to hold a meeting soon to consider among other things assistance to several projects in Afghanistan. The commerce ministers of the two countries will meet to further discuss the assistance.

Briefing newsmen, an official spokesman said delegations of the two countries also met separately and discussed the implementation of the Geneva accord.

The prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, is hosting a dinner in honor of Dr Najibullah tonight.

Agreement on Tea Purchase

BK0605095388 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Afghanistan has agreed to buy tea from India. The details of the 4-year arrangement are to be finalized soon. An agreement for the supply of 2,000 tons of packed tea has already been finalized. This was discussed in a meeting between the Afghan commerce minister, Mr Muhammad Khan Jalalar, and the commerce and finance minister, Mr N.D. Tiwari, in Delhi last evening. The discussions covered possibilities of expansion of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

The Afghan minister stressed his government's desire to promote joint ventures in his country with technical and financial assistance from India. Mr Tiwari appreciated the Afghan Government's recent offer to set up a State Trading Corporation's showroom in Kabul.

Foreign Ministers Meet

LD0505190788 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] 'Abdul Wakil, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, today held talks with Natwar Singh, Indian minister of state for external affairs.

At the meeting the Afghan side explained the current efforts inside the country to implement the policy of national reconciliation and the tasks of economic reconstruction. The Indian side reemphasized that country's readiness to take part in the task of reconstruction in Afghanistan.

Visits Nehru, Indira Memorials

LD0505221888 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Excerpt] Esteemed Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, and his entourage who are on an official visit to India at the invitation of His Excellency Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister, and the leadership of that country, laid a wreath at the tomb of Mahatma Gandhi, leader of the liberation movement of India, this morning at 0900. The labor minister, the head of protocol of the Indian Foreign Ministry, and 'Abdul Samad Azhar, ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to India, were present. BIA reports that Esteemed Najibullah then planted a memorial tree in the garden of the resting place and signed the guest book.

Esteemed Najibullah also visited various parts of the museum of Jawahar Lal Nehru, late prime minister of India, and was briefed by museum officials. During this visit the minister of labor and the head of protocol of the Indian Foreign Ministry were also present. At end of his museum tour the president of Afghanistan signed the guest book.

According to another report, Esteemed Najibullah and his entourage, accompanied by the labor minister, the general director of trade exhibitions, the head of protocol of Indian Foreign Affairs, and Afghanistan's ambassador and embassy staff in New Delhi, visited the memorial of Indira Gandhi, struggler for the people of India, this morning. He

then toured the various parts of this memorial, which is decorated with photographs and the writings of Indira Gandhi, and watched a brief film on her life.

The BIA correspondent adds that Esteemed Najibullah then visited the place where Indira Gandhi was savagely killed by terrorists and placed a bouquet of flowers there in her honor. At the end of this tour, Esteemed Najibullah entered the following sentence in the guest book: Visiting the museum of Indira Gandhi, the torch-bearer and heir to her father's struggle, who from her childhood took steps (?together) with Jawahar Lal Nehru for freedom, progress, and democracy and died for the sake of this sacred cause of human beings, rekindles memories of eternal value. [passage omitted]

Meets With Peace Group

LD0505191688 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Esteemed Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, this afternoon received in his residence the leadership delegation of India's Peace and Solidarity Organization and spoke with them.

At this meeting the leadership delegation of this organization explained to Esteemed Najibullah the mobilization of India's public opinion for the defense of the Geneva accords and the policy of national reconciliation. They said: Soon after the signing of these accords, a meeting was organized to express support for these accords. It was attended by various political representatives and social circles of India. The delegation added that India's Peace and Solidarity Organization is planning to transform such actions into a nationwide campaign for the defense of the Geneva accords and the policy of national reconciliation, and to further consolidate fraternal relations between the people of India and Afghanistan.

In expressing gratitude for unreserved support of the people and Government of India, Esteemed Najibullah said the following concerning the Geneva accords and the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan: Obviously, the role of public opinion in supporting important historical measures is formidable. The solution of the situation around Afghanistan through the Geneva accords is a good example for resolving other regional issues in the world.

According to another report, Esteemed Najibullah today at 1600 received in his residence, Muhammad Yunis Khan, chairman of all-India's commercial exhibition.

Concludes Visit 6 May

BK0605130888 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The Afghan president, Dr Najibullah, says India can play a major role in the return of former Afghan King Zahir Shah and his joining the government of national reconciliation. He said India can also influence moderate groups working within and outside Afghanistan to join the mainstream. He sought India's assistance in making Afghanistan a member of the SAARC.

Dr Najibullah was addressing a press conference in New Delhi shortly before his departure for Kabul at the end of his 3-day official visit.

Answering a question, Dr Najibullah ruled out the possibility of his stepping down in favor of Zahir Shah.

Asked what would be Kabul's attitude toward Pakistan, Dr Najibullah said Afghanistan would like to have friendly relations with its neighbors.

Dr Najibullah has since left for Kabul.

Talking to newsmen at Rashtrapati Bhawan [president's house] after Dr Najibullah's departure, the prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, said India will give all possible help to Afghanistan in its national reconstruction and reconciliation programs. He said a team from Afghanistan will soon visit New Delhi to finalize the modalities of assistance.

Asked about newspaper reports on heavy water, Mr Gandhi said India has enough of it.

President's Rule in Punjab Extended 6 Months

BK0505162588 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] The Rajya Sabha today adopted a statutory resolution approving the continuance of president's rule in Punjab for 6 more months from the 11th of this month. Replying to the discussion, the minister of state for home, Mr P. Chidambaram, reiterated government's determination to fight terrorism and theocracy in Punjab and find a political solution to the issue by taking all parties into confidence.

He said India will place conclusive evidence of Pakistan's covert and overt support to terrorists during the coming talks of the home secretaries of the two countries. Mr Chidambaram ruled out the creation of any security belt along the Indo-Pak border and said steps will be taken for effective policing of the border. A crash program for live wire fencing of the vulnerable areas is expected to be completed in 2 months. He refuted an opposition charge that the government is having any secret contract with the terrorists or dealing with the Punjab problem in a partisan manner. He also denied reports that some highly sophisticated weapons, being imported by intelligence agencies, are finding their way to terrorists.

Earlier, during the discussion, opposition members criticized the government for, what they said, its failure to curb terrorism and maintain law and order in Punjab. Ruling party members accused the opposition of taking a partisan attitude.

Taking part in the debate on the statutory resolution in the Lok Sabha, members urged the government to arrive at a broad national consensus for solving the problem. The discussion in the Lok Sabha will continue.

'Terrorists' Kill 12 People in Punjab

BK0605070888 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0630 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] In Punjab, terrorists gunned down 12 persons, including 7 members of a family and a police officer, in separate incidents since last night. In Patiala District, terrorists opened indiscriminate fire on a farmer's family in village Gulhari under Patran police station. The victims were sleeping in the house when they were attacked. The same group of terrorists shot dead two more persons while fleeing from the house; one woman sustained injuries.

Two persons were shot dead in Sangrur and Patiala Districts. In Ferozepore District, an assistant subinspector of police was killed in an encounter with some terrorists.

Naval Chief on Purchase of FRG Submarines

BK0605032688 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The chief of the naval staff, Admiral J.G. Nadkarni, said that the government has carried out all procedures properly before selecting the West German HDW [Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft] submarines. Speaking to newsmen in Calcutta yesterday, he said two such submarines, which were acquired last year, have been giving excellent performance. This type of submarines is now being built at Mazagaon docks at Bombay.

Iran

Political Roundtable Discussion on Recent Events

NC0505205188 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1630 GMT 5 May 88

["Political Roundtable" program with 'Ali Reza Mo'ayeri, deputy prime minister, and 'Abbas Mohtaj, acting chief of IRGC General Headquarters, moderated by Mr Afshar, correspondent of the Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in Tehran; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Afshar] [Passage omitted] We are here with another in our series of weekly roundtable programs. As usual, I want to introduce the participants: our brother, Mr 'Ali Reza Mo'ayeri, esteemed deputy prime minister, who has participated in this program before; and our brother, Mr 'Abbas Mohtaj, acting chief of IRGC General Headquarters. I wish to thank you, brothers, for coming here to participate in this program. In view of the sensitivity of the Persian Gulf region these days and the fact that news of this region figures prominently in most of the world media's news coverage, I want to begin this program with questions in this regard. [passage omitted]

Mr Mohtaj, in view of the U.S. attacks on two Iranian oil platforms in the Persian Gulf, the shattering response from the Iranian forces, and the U.S. announcement that they are planning to strengthen their forces in the Persian Gulf region, it is probable that there will be another attack on Iranian installations or forces on another flimsy pretext. My question is: Have any steps been taken in anticipation of such an attack by the United States?

[Mohtaj] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Greetings to the martyr-nurturing nation, with wishes for the acceptance of their supplications in these nights of worship. The aggressive U.S. operations against our oil platforms received a tooth-shattering blow; it became clear to the United States that it is weak and vulnerable in the Persian Gulf. These areas of weakness and vulnerability have become clear to us. We can see where we can exploit them and inflict our blows. Obviously, in order to maintain an extensive presence in the Persian Gulf, our nation will be mobilized to confront the United States; we will need a greater presence in the Persian Gulf to combat it. We will exploit U.S. weaknesses. The United States is aware of our strong points in the Persian Gulf; some has been identified, and some has not. We will use our strengths to attack U.S. weaknesses. If the United States continues its mischief in the Persian Gulf, we are prepared to give the necessary response. [passage omitted]

[Afshar] Mr Mo'ayeri, another question about the Persian Gulf. Following U.S. attacks in the Persian Gulf, about 10 incidents in the past 15 days have taken place against U.S. installations and bases all over the world. American authorities have implied that this is connected with the Persian Gulf situation. On the other hand, the Americans have issued notices to their bases, embassies, and trade centers all over the world, warning them to maintain a state of high alert, as it is possible that anything may happen at any time. Some of these incidents in the past 15 days occurred on U.S. bases and extremely sensitive U.S. installations. If it is sabotage, it indicates that the weakness of U.S. forces. If it is not sabotage, it is still plays up American weakness. What is your view of this issue?

[Mo'ayeri] The Islamic Revolution is a universal Islamic revolution. It is not an Islamic revolution limited to a specific area. As was clear from the beginning, the Muslims of the world looked upon this revolution with special expectations and considered it a model. We have

witnessed the strength of the people's struggle in Lebanon, Afghanistan, and occupied Palestine. All of these are patterned on the Iranian struggles in the course of the revolution.

The American acts of aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran wounded the feelings of Muslims all over the world. The United States now fears that its interests all over the world may be threatened. This is not attributable to any particular measures on the part of the Islamic Republic of Iran; it is due to measures which Muslims all over the world are taking in order to inflict blows on the United States, which has committed aggression against their source of hope. This will always constitute a danger to the United States.

[Afshar] Thank you, Mr Mo'ayeri. Mr Mohtaj, when the Ba'thist-Zionist forces imposed a war on us at the birth of the revolution, they naturally won victories in their operations against Iran. Later, due to the cohesion of the Iranian forces, they suffered defeats in a series of operations. The Iraqis retreated into what is known as a shell of defense in military terminology. Recently, in what they termed mobile defense operations, the Iraqis again suffered defeat. They were not victorious until they started operations when the issue of the Iraqi Ba'thist-Zionist forces' movements in the Al-Faw peninsula was raised. Please tell us what this shell of defense is. Second, how did they move into it? Do the latest operations by the Iraqis in Al-Faw mean that they have come out of their shell of defense?

[Mohtaj] [Passage omitted] Following our liberation of Khorramshahr, Iraq concluded that it could not carry out operations or even retain its sensitive lines at its level of strength then. Numerous areas which had been occupied by Iraq were liberated due to their faulty defense strategy. They retreated and took up a line of defense so that they could at least fight for their strategic and sensitive areas. That is, after the "Bayt ol-Moqaddas" operations Iraq adopted a defensive approach to defend its strategic areas by stationing its forces there. This is known as the shell of defense. [passage omitted] In order to compensate for its weak points, Iraq embarked on several operations. In some areas it was unsuccessful, but in Al-Faw it was able to gain some success.

On whether Iraq has changed its approach from defensive to offensive, I wish to say that, on principle, there is no fixed approach in a war. At the beginning of the war we adopted a defensive stand. When we felt that we had the strength to take an offensive stand, we began our operations. The Al-Faw operations were mainly defensive in the beginning. However, if the Iraqi forces or the Ba'thist administration feel that these are offensive, then it is possible that they have been successful in a way. It is natural that they become aggressive, as we perceive the spirit of aggression in Saddam and the Ba'th Party. This is also related to the level of our capability and that of the enemy. If our capability is of a higher level, then we cannot permit them to take this stand.

[Afshar] Mr Mohtaj, you mentioned the (Samen ol-A'immeh) and "Bayt ol-Moqaddas" operations. Another question comes to mind in this regard. In the years 1361-62 [corresponding to 1982-83] in the period between the two operations we scored dazzling victories and our fighters achieved great success. However, after the "Bayt ol-Moqaddas" operations and until now, even though we have had great and shining victories and inflicted massive losses on the Iraqi forces, their brilliance does not match the brilliance of the earlier victories. In those series of operations the losses were far greater, the number of POW's greater. What is the reason for this?

[Mohtaj] At the start of the war Iraq attacked our Islamic country with a relatively limited force compared to its present-day strength. It carried out operations over a vast area. It is obvious that when a limited number of troops operate over a vast area, the line of defense becomes weak. We had a vast and open front in the (Samen ol-A'immeh) operations, and there were areas where there were no Iraqi forces. We had a similar front in the "Fath ol-Mobin" operations and our forces were able to penetrate into the depths of Iraqi territory and bring its artillery under (?attack) in the very first hours of battle.

This was due to the weakness of the Iraqi Armed Forces and the fact that they were strung out over a vast defense line. We exploited this Iraqi weakness. In a remarkable (?move) we were able to take advantage of the vulnerability of the Iraqi forces and liberate a large area. Also, Iraq had stationed all of its maneuvering [preceding word in English] and regular forces on the defense lines and did not have any reserve or free maneuvering forces. That is why we had little or no need for counterattacks or ripostes in the "Fath ol-Mobin" operations. In the "Bayt ol-Moqaddas" operations Iraq had to quickly remove some of its forces. If they had stayed, they would have sustained blows which would have created problems for Iraq in its defense of Basra. In short, at that time Iraq had established an long line of defense with inadequate forces.

Consequently, there was a high level of vulnerability. We capitalized on this and inflicted major blows on Iraq. In addition to the Iraqi forces' corrections in their defense line strategy, they have recently created engineering units. This has some advantages for the Iraqi forces: They can keep their stronger forces in reserve and move them wherever they want; they can station fewer units on the defense lines; and they can use these engineering units to hinder our forces' access to the Iraqi lines. This affects our forces' strength. By adopting this line of defense Iraq is able to keep a strong reserve force. [passage omitted]

[Afshar] Mr Mo'ayeri, in addition to the factors mentioned by Mr Mohtaj, Iraq's use of chemical weapons can also be discussed. At the beginning of this week on

Saturday, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani talked about preventing Iraq from continuing the war of the cities and chemical attacks. He said a good deterrent would be more extensive retaliatory operations, at an even greater level than the Iraqi attacks. He said if Iraq continues its use of chemical weapons, the Islamic Republic of Iran will make it repent 100 percent. Is this change in policy due to the UN experts' report, which was extremely tepid and did not condemn Iraq as it should have, or is it due to Iraq's increasing use of chemical attacks at the front, such as in Halabjah?

[Mo'ayeri] As Mr Mohtaj mentioned, one of the assets used recently by the Iraqi regime is the vast quantity of facilities which foreign powers have placed at its disposal, facilities that were not there at the beginning of the war. Moreover, there is this issue of chemical weapons being used on an extensive scale by the Ba'thist Iraqi regime. Of course, for years we have had the capability to produce and deploy chemical weapons, but we have not done so. This is a parinciple we believe in.

As you know, in 1925 the Geneva Protocol was signed, banning the use of chemical weapons. At that time Iran agreed to the protocol. Despite the Ba'thist Iraqi regime's repeated use of chemical weapons in the imposed war—and most of the international experts and independent physicians who visited Iran and the victims sent abroad for treatment confirm that Iraq used the chemical weapons on a large scale—international organizations, the United Nations in particular, have unfortunately not adopted a strong and firm stance to prevent the use of these weapons. The weakest position so far was the one announced recently, a position that does not befit a major international organization that professes to have come into existence to uphold justice and peace in the world.

With its dispatch of a very inadequate two-member team, who were not even experts in chemical weapons, a vague report was prepared and then presented to the UN Security Council. The report did not mention that chemical weapons had been used on a large scale, despite visits by numerous correspondents and physicians to Halabjah and our country's villages and cities that come under chemical attack. They acknowledged that Iraq had used various chemical gases, but the international organizations, the United Nations in particular, could not initiate any deterrent measures. Our request to these international organizations was that steps be taken to ban these weapons in the world forever so that no regime or country would ever dare to use such instruments of genocide. Then we even proposed that all the chemical weapons being exported should be embargoed, and control and elimination of these arms be undertaken by various countries. However, not much attention was paid to these proposals, a source of extreme regret. The United Nations failed to perform its duty and to abide by a protocol signed more than 60 years ago.

As regards the retaliatory tit-for-tat operations, we have never used chemical weapons, despite our capability to do so. We will endeavor to maintain our restraint in this regard, but restraint and patience also have limits. If the aggression continues we shall use our resources.

[Afshar] Mr Mohtaj, what role do chemical weapons play on the fronts, in operations? Is it a decisive role? Are they a filter or a dam which retards action, or is it some other role?

[Mohtaj] The use of chemical weapons depends on the readiness of our forces, and their effectiveness depends on the quantity used. The difference between chemical and conventional weapons is this: If in a battalion a mortar explodes, some will be wounded, some martyred. With chemical weapons, a great number will be affected and hurt. Chemicals can be a retarding factor if used on a limited scale, but if used extensively and the forces are not prepared for it, then they can bring about a halt in the war, that is, prevent advances. However, I must add that chemical weapons can never be the deciding factor in any war. They can only serve to slow down or halt movement at various stages. [passage omitted]

[Afshar] Mr Mo'ayeri, as you are here in your capacity of deputy prime minister, I would like to take this opportunity to ask you one or two questions removed from the issue of the Persian Gulf. The first is on the break of diplomatic relations between the Hijaz and Iran. Following their announcement of the severance of diplomatic relations with Iran, the Hijaz authorities specified they would allow a very short period, only 1 week, for the departure of all our diplomatic personnel from the country. However, 2 days before the deadline, the Hijaz police bore down on the Islamic Republic of Iran's Consulate, arrested our diplomatic personnel, and then expelled them. They also confiscated consular documents and did not permit embassy staff employees to take them along. As a deputy prime minister, please tell us what was the aim of the Hijaz regime in this action and what has the Islamic Republic of Iran done, or is doing, in this regard?

[Mo'ayeri] As you are aware, last year when the United States boosted its military presence and that of its allies in the Persian Gulf, we witnessed the savage massacre of our disavowing pilgrims in Mecca. They were martyred by the Hijaz-ruling regime's agents, who had the audacity to treat the pilgrims to the house of God in this manner.

Following this incident we did not see any relaxation in their position or any expression of regret, but that is natural for this regime. Another issue clearly emerged, the difference between the pure Mohammadan Islam and their U.S.-style Islam. And they quickly severed relations so that they would not suffer a setback. They had made many ("problems") for our representative missions in the past, at our consulate in Jeddah and our embassy in Riyadh. After the announcement of the

severance of relations and all the other inappropriate undiplomatic behavior which followed, we suggested that Turkey safeguard our interests. However, the Hijaz refused this request without announcing it officially.

We needed some time to collect our effects and documents from the embassy and consulate in order to transport them to Iran. They did not accept this and treated us in a manner contradicting all diplomatic norms. Of course, it is clear what the Hijaz regime fears. It is afraid of our Islamic revolutionary and devout forces at the hajj. It does not want our people to mingle with the other Muslims of the world at the hajj, which is an international congress, in case they shout the slogans "Death to the United States," and "Death to Israel."

[Afshar] Mr Mo'ayeri, our next question centers on France. In today's news we heard that three French hostages had been released and that Jacques Chirac thanked Iran for its role in their release. What was Iran's role in the release of the hostages? Also, in view of the developments, will there be changes in Iranian-French relations or on the issue of France's $1 billion debt, or maybe other issues?

[Mo'ayeri] As our dear viewers are aware, we had prolonged and detailed discussions with the French authorities on normalizing relations. These discussions reached a deadlock due to the diplomatic war and the siege of our embassy in Paris. This whole affair culminated in the severance of our relations with France. When Chirac became the French prime minister, we witnessed a change in bilateral relations and a positive approach to the conditions which Iran had laid down for a normalization of relations. Recently, for humanitarian reasons and in view of the requests that had been made—we had always declared that if we could be of any assistance regarding France's problems in Lebanon we would help—the Islamic Republic of Iran requested that the Muslim Hizballahi people of Lebanon assist in solving France's problems in Lebanon. This assistance resulted in the release of the remaining three French hostages.

This afternoon the hostages arrived in Paris, and as far as I know Jacques Chirac has thanked the Islamic Republic of Iran for its persistent efforts and the use of its influence and mediation in this regard. He has also expressed the desire for a resumption of diplomatic relations between Iran and France, which we will respond to in the future.

[Afshar] Thank you very much, Mr Mo'ayeri, for participating, and you too, Mr Mohtaj, in the weekly "Political Roundtable." We hope that you will participate again in this program.

Dear viewers, we have come to the end of our program for this week. With the hope that in these nights of worship and holiness you will not forget the able and courageous fighters of Islam in your prayers, we wish each of you, along with our program's participants Messrs Mo'ayeri and Mohtaj, a good night. May God be with you.

Further on French Hostages

LD0505175088 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 5 May 88

[Excerpt] Following the freeing of three French hostages in Lebanon, French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, while thanking the Islamic Republic of Iran for its actions in this respect, requested the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Mr Mo'ayeri, deputy prime minister for political affairs, on the "Political Roundtable" program of the second network of the Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran announced this and added: The Islamic Republic of Iran, for humane reasons and in response to requests for the liberation of two diplomats and a French journalist asked the Muslim people of Lebanon to help the French with this problem.

As a result, the three remaining French hostages in Lebanon were released and, according to the latest reports, arrived in France at noon today. He added: Considering the developments following the election of Mr Chirac as the French prime minister and the positive attitude taken toward the conditions stated by the Islamic Republic of Iran, this humane act to free three French hostages in Lebanon was undertaken. In the future the French request for the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries will also be answered.

He then went on to discuss the reasons behind the severance of ties between the Hijaz regime and the Islamic Republic of Iran stating: Following this action the Islamic Republic of Iran appointed Turkey to look after its interests. However, the Hijaz regime has so far not responded to this. Due to the Saudi regime's refusal to allow sufficient time for our diplomatic officials to transfer documents to Tehran, some of these documents remain in the Hijaz. This action of the Hijaz regime is contrary to diplomatic rules. [passage omitted]

Musavi-Ardabili Delivers Friday Prayers Sermons

LD0605123188 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The issues discussed by Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili in Tehran's Friday prayers sermons today is the topic of our first report to which we draw your attention:

The president of the Supreme Judicial Council, referring to the anniversary of the day the lord of the mujahids struggling on the path of God—the holy Imam 'Ali, may God's peace be upon him—discussed the high moral qualities of that imam's personality and said: Our religion is Islam and our path is the path of 'Ali. We should follow his example in all aspects of life, particularly in

caring for the deprived and the oppressed. Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili added: Supporting the deprived and oppressed is not a mere slogan: The peasants, the workers, and all the deprived should be seen to and their needs met. Our laws should be formulated so that they meet all the basic needs of the deprived.

In another part of his speech, he referred to the uncompromising stand of the holy Imam 'Ali in the face of tyrants and bullies and said: We too should stand in the face of our enemies, of the United States, of the extortionists, and of the bullies, and we should know that paying ransoms and taking the smallest step backward is political suicide. It is shameful for a revolutionary nation—the principle element of whose revolution is Islam—to be bullied and to pay extortion money. The leaders of the United States should know that we shall not submit to any extortion.

The president of the Supreme Judicial Council than pointed to the pretexts and continual mischiefs of the United States in the Persian Gulf and the region, and said: In defending our rights and if the need arises, then I, an old man, would assuredly go to the battlefronts and give a bowl of drinking water to a fighter.

Continuing his Friday prayers sermons, Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili pointed to Resolution No 598 of the Security Council and said: If you say you are going to set up a court, then do it—and first name the aggressor. If this is done, the other problems will be solved, as we neither want Iraqi territory nor do we need Iraqi POW's. We are certain that identifying the aggressor and putting him on trial is among the first of the legal measures [that should be taken].

The president of the Supreme Judicial Council stressed: We are facing a cruel and illogical world, and we believe that under these circumstances, defending our honor, independence, freedom, and our rights means serving the blood of the martyrs and moving forward. To compromise is to betray the blood of the martyrs and we shall never commit this treachery. He added: We are a powerful nation because we have strengths no other nation in the world possesses: an alert, pious, trustworthy, and sympathetic leader and a people who are selfless and resistant. We are a great nation with extensive resources and we support the deprived and the oppressed of the world. We have placed our hopes in the mercy of God, the almighty. With all these resources and special qualities, if we have to choose between death and being bullied, then we prefer to die.

Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili also emphasized the need for piety, and on the occasion of the anniversary of the martyrdom of Ayatollah Motaharri, he paid tribute to the services of the martyr to Islamic society.

WIH on 'World' Silence on Use of Toxins

LD0505165388 Tehran IRNA in English 1638 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Tehran, May 5, IRNA—The War Information Headquarters (WIH) today said that Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz's confession to the use of chemical weapons by his country in the war was an outcome of the "biased and passive reaction" of international circles to these blatant crimes.

A WIH spokesman said when a regime commits one of the most horrible crimes without facing any international reaction it would be natural for it to impudently assume responsibility for the crime.

The foreign minister of Iraq's Ba'thist regime during a visit to Brasilia Wednesday officially conceded that his government had deployed chemical arms against Iran.

Tariq 'Aziz's explicit confession to Baghdad's use of toxic gases came after U.N. published its latest report concerning deployment of chemical weapons in the Iraq-Iran war without naming Iraq as the party responsible for the violation of the international law.

The spokesman noted "if the U.N. had taken serious measures to force Iraq to discontinue using chemical arms, we would not have been witness to such disgusting, impudent confessions."

The U.N. report came after Iraq massacred thousands of its Kurdish people in Halabjah and after a U.N. team visited victims of the appalling crime at Tehran hospitals.

He also cautioned world public opinion that Baghdad's crime in deploying chemical weapons will not be confined to both Iran and Iraq but will entail grave consequences for the world if it continues its silence on these crimes.

Commentary on UN Policy

LD0505143688 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1103 GMT 5 May 88

[Political commentary: "Hostile Policies of the Security Council, a Factor Contributing to the Escalation of Crimes Committed by the Iraqi Regime"]

[Text] Nearly 50 days since the chemical bombing of Halabjah and the massacre of more than 5,000 civilians in this region, the UN Security Council and other international forums are reacting to this barbaric crime with unjustified indifference. Thanks to the silence and complacency of these forums, the Iraqi foreign minister in a recent interview openly stressed that the Baghdad regime has the right to deploy chemical weapons. The Geneva Convention of 1925 explicitly condemns

deployment of chemical weapons by any government and says violators should face a decisive response by international organizations and major powers.

Since the overwhelming majority of permanent members of the UN Security Council share a common objective in maintaining and supporting the Iraqi regime and in preventing the realization of the demands of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a general policy prevails of covering up the undeniable crimes of the Iraqi regime. In line with this policy, one-sided reports—similar to the one prepared in connection with the crimes of the Saddamists in Halabjah—are produced. Such a policy has in practice emboldened the Baghdad rulers and resulted in more diverse crimes and atrocities by this regime. The Iraqi foreign minister has openly stressed that the Saddam regime is justified in deploying chemical weapons. The Iraqi regime openly declares that if Security Council Resolution No 598 is rejected, it will resort to bombings and missile attacks against residential areas.

Meanwhile, last week nearly 50 days after the Halabjah crime and Iraq's repeated deployment of chemical weapons, the FRG distributed to Security Council members a plan that bans the export of goods and equipment that can be used to manufacture chemical weapons. It is interesting that at the same time, some Western governments have taken steps to prevent the release of such a resolution, and to ultimately downgrade it to a statement by the president of the Security Council. In any case, it is quite obvious that a continuation of the Security Council's hostile policies and the overt and unjustifiable open support of its permanent members for Iraq will lead the world to a point where such crimes as the deployment of chemical weapons and missiles and air raids on residential areas will become a common occurrence.

Navy Chief Malekzadegan Meets With Khamene'i
LD0505171288 Tehran IRNA in English 1544 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Tehran, May 5, IRNA—Navy Commander Rear Admiral Mohammad Hoseyn Malekzadegan in a meeting with President 'Ali Khamene'i here Thursday announced the Navy's full preparedness to counter any hostile move by foreign naval fleets in the Persian Gulf.

The Navy commander also briefed the president on the latest developments in the Persian Gulf and the active presence of Iranian naval forces in this sensitive waterway.

President Khamene'i gave Rear Admiral Malekzadegan necessary guidelines on the issues brought up at the meeting.

Deputies Assail U.S., Saudi Arabia, Israel
LD0405193988 Tehran IRNA in English 1820 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Tehran, May 4, IRNA—Majlis (Parliament) deputies today strongly castigated the U.S., the regime ruling Hijaz and the regime occupying Qods for their joint conspiracy against the Islamic Revolution.

In the pre-agenda debates of the Majlis open session chaired by Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Mashhad MP Hojjat ol-Eslam Hadi Khamene'i was the first speaker of the day to flay the U.S. for its overt support for the Iraqi Ba'thist regime and the regional reactionaries.

Hadi Khamene'i, noting the versatility of the Islamic Revolution, said after ten years of conspiracy the U.S., the sworn enemy of the Islamic Revolution, has finally unveiled its hostility against Muslims and Islam by directly entering the war scene against the Islamic Republic.

The Mashhad deputy who was the target of an aborted grenade attack by the outlawed monafeqin (hypocrites) grouplet during last year's 'International Qods Day' rally, said the faithful Iranian people after years of agony under foreign domination are eagerly looking forward and counting the days to use their 'historic opportunity' to deal fatal blows to the U.S. for its crimes.

Esma'il Ferdowsi-Pur, another deputy from holy Mashhad, which houses the shrine of the 8th imam of the prophet's infallible household—Imam Reza (AS)—talked on the sanctity of Al-Aqsa Mosque and noted that it is incumbent upon all Muslims to purge occupied Qods from the dirty occupation of Zionists.

He emphasized that the Islamic Republic of Iran will steadfastly support the Palestine revolution and expressed hope that the current uprising of Muslim Palestinians against the illegal Zionist entity would continue until the liberation of all Muslim lands.

Latif Safari, MP from Eslamabad-e Gharb, Bakhtaran Province briefly discussed the Saudi regime's breaking of relations with Islamic Iran. He said the move coupled with the banning of Iranian pilgrims from this year's hajj have revealed to world Muslims the treacherous profile of the Saudi regime, which for so long has been masquerading as the self-styled custodian of the Haramayn Sharifayn—the two holy shrines in Mecca and Al-Madinah.

Ayatollah Sadeq Khalkhali from holy Qom was the last parliamentary speaker of the day who lambasted the U.S. for its aggressions against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Ayatollah Khalkhali said the impudent U.S. seems to have forgotten its defeats and humiliations in Vietnam, Cambodia, Lebanon and other parts of the world and is trying to intimidate Islamic Iran by despatching frigates to the Persian Gulf to back the Iraqi Ba'thist regime and other regional reactionaries.

He emphasized that the Muslim nation of Iran will decisively stand against the U.S. and will deal it an unforgettable lesson. The Persian Gulf belongs to the heroic Muslims of Iran and those of the littoral states, he added.

The Qom deputy turning to the Saudi regime's rupture of ties with Islamic Iran termed it as a hostile stance in line with U.S. policies, noting that regional reactionaries would have stood up against the Zionist regime if they were really competent or had a grain of honour left in their bankrupt conscience.

Delegation To Visit Hungary for Commercial Talks

LD0405165088 Tehran IRNA in English 1436 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Tehran, May 4, IRNA—Experts of the Mostazafin (Oppressed) Foundation will be sent to Budapest to get acquainted with Hungarian experiences in the field of agriculture and related industries. The cooperation is part of a protocol to be signed between the foundation and Hungary in the next days.

Head of the foundation Tahmaseb Mazaheri discussed details of the protocol with Hungarian Ambassador Zsigmond Kazmer here today.

He told Kazmer that Mostazafin Foundation is ready to produce industrial goods for Hungary or for a third country in return for receiving raw material.

A Hungarian agricultural delegation had earlier prepared preliminary works of the protocol with the cooperation of the foundation's officials.

Combat Operations in War With Iraq Continue

Communique No 3,193

LD0505171088 Tehran IRNA in English 1644 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Tehran, May 5, IRNA—Iranian naval units continued their patrol missions Wednesday, identifying three cargo ships in the Strait of Hormuz and closely monitoring movement of foreign warships in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, said a military communique here Thursday.

In its 3193rd communique, the Joint Staff Command of the Armed Forces reported that the Islamic Republic Air Force effectively carried out patrol missions over the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman yesterday to reconnoiter foreign vessels in the waterway.

Iran's Muslim combatants reconnoitered and opened heavy artillery fire on Iraqi positions throughout the fronts Wednesday, killing or wounding a number of enemy soldiers and destroying several vehicles of theirs.

In Panjwin and Hajj 'Umran, northwestern fronts, Iraqi forces sustained heavy losses in men and equipment, and fire of enemy tanks was silenced by Iranian artillery fire yesterday.

Two Iraqi patrols convoys, attempting to infiltrate Iranian positions in Salehabad and 'Eyn Khowsh, southern sector, incurred several casualties and were forced to flee Wednesday when shelled by Iranian combatants.

A number of Iraqi soldiers were killed or wounded and parts of enemy fortifications set ablaze in parts of the southern and western fronts in artillery duels with Iranian Gendarmerie forces Wednesday.

Heavy fire of Iranian Muslim combatants checked Iraqi engineering operations in Qasr-e Shirin and Kharratha [name as received] and enemy logistical activities in Sar Dasht, Hajj 'Umran, Nahr 'Anbar, Naft-e Shah, Mandali, Badrah, Duyshaykh and Salman Faraj Wednesday, concluded the communique.

Communique No 3,194

LD0605151788 Tehran IRNA in English 1518 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Tehran, May 6, IRNA—The Islamic Republic Air Force carried out its routine patrol missions over the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman Thursday despite a warning from a foreign warship, and provided support for the Navy and recoinnoitered the waterway.

Announcing the above here Friday, the 3194th Joint Staff communique said that Iranian naval units in continuation of their patrol missions aimed at preventing any military equipment from reaching Iraq intercepted and searched a cargo ship in the Strait of Hormuz Thursday. They also closely monitored movement of a few warships in the waterway in the same period.

Exchange of artillery and mortar fire continued throughout the fronts yesterday as a result of which a number of Iraqi soldiers were killed or wounded and an enemy tank, some vehicles and several gun emplacements and observation posts were destroyed.

Iranian artillery fire forced two Iraqi patrol convoys to flee in Kani-Sheykh and 'Eyn Khowsh, and inflicted heavy losses on enemy tanks in Yebis and Panjwin. Some crew members of Iraqi tanks were also killed or wounded.

A number of Iraqi soldiers were killed or wounded and an enemy vehicle and several bunkers were destroyed in parts of the southern and western sectors in artillery duels with Iranian Gendarmerie forces Thursday, the communique concluded.

Opposition Leaders Interviewed by Kuwaiti Paper

JN051504 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 3 May 88 p 18

[By 'Adil Darwish]

[Text] Iraqi-Iranian border—Somewhere in the central sector on the Iraqi-Iranian border, AL-SIYASAH conducted an interview with commanders of the Iranian

National Liberation Army [INLA], the military wing of the National Resistance Council [NRC]. The interview was held at a forward base that includes several INLA combat units, most of which belong to the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization [MKO] led by Mas'ud Rajavi who is now the INLA commander in chief and the NRC secretary general. AL-SIYASAH also met with a few thousand fighters and watched them training on various types of anti-armor weapons. It also saw the weapons seized by the INLA forces from the Khomeyni forces in the Faqqeh area in Khuzestan during the "Bright Sun" operations last April. These weapons include four M-37 heavy tanks.

AL-SIYASAH interviewed the INLA commanders on the tactics and objectives of the military operations. It also held a dialogue with the political leadership on the strategy of the MKO and NRC in light of the new developments and change in the Khomeyniite strategy after the loss of Al-Faw, the escalation of tension with Saudi Arabia, and the confrontation with U.S. naval forces.

We noticed that the majority of the forces and unit commanders belong to the MKO, although the NRC respresentative in Baghdad, 'Ali Reza Ja'far Zadeh, and the NRC international coordinator, Mohsen Reza'i, said that the NRC includes all the forces, organizations, and individuals hostile to the former shah's regime and to the present Khomeyni regime. Another point is that all the fighters come from the middle class and intelligentsia. The great majority are students. The cadres and the first and second echelon commanders who belong to the MKO are in their thirties and joined the organization in the 70's during their university years in Iran. Also, a large number of them have spent several years in the shah's prisons. They were released by the Iranian revolution. Again they found themselves in the prisons of the Islamic Republic to which they had contributed by participating in the revolution. Some of them carried arms to defend the revolution which was created by the Iranian people, including all classes and citizens.

AL-SIYASAH held a dialogue with Mohsen Reza'i and asked him about the formation of a provisional government-in-exile if all opposition forces have joined the NRC as he says. Reza'i said: It is not necessary to form a government-in-exile to win worldwide recognition of the resistance. He added that his organization exerts effective efforts to convince the nations of the world to sever relations with the Tehran regime and to boycott it economically and politically, particularly as it violates human rights. He said the NRC holds continuous high-level contacts with the French and British Governments. He said his organization has also won the recognition of the European parliament, the EEC Council of Ministers, most of the labor and socialist European parties, and several parliamentarians in the world. He pointed out that Jordan and Iraq fully recognize his organization, and referred to Rajavi's meetings with Jordan's King Husayn and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn.

Ja'far Zadeh, the organization's Baghdad representative, added that the peace pact Rajavi signed with President Saddam Husayn won the support of the EC's ministerial council as an official policy and a formula for settling the bloody war for which the peoples of Iraq and Iran are paying dearly. I told the spokesman the liberal forces supporting their organization have yet to make any appreciable headway on the Palestinian front and asked how they are going to tackle this. I further asked how they planned to counter the propaganda line of the Khomeyni regime that the MKO and INLA are allied with Iraq which is at war with Iran, thus putting themselves in the enemy camp in the eyes of the Iranian people.

Reza'i said continued desertions by soldiers and officers of the Khomeyni army, with large numbers defecting to the MKO side, are indicative of the declining credibility of the Tehran regime's propaganda. Ja'far Zadeh said that a few years after the war started and with mounting human rights abuses in Iran, the numbers of those who view the question in its historical perspective have been increasing. They maintain that the peoples of Iraq and Iran are neighbors and will remain so forever. Mahdi Barani, the military commander of the base we visited, explained the new tactics and strategy adopted by INLA which controls the NRC's political leadership. He ruled out a provisional government for the moment.

Barani, a 38-year-old engineer and graduate of Tehran University and co-founder of the MKO, said INLA has a two-prong strategy: to carry out continual guerrilla action in order to undermine the Khomeyni army and inflict the greatest number of casualties and most damage to its equipment, thus forcing them into an irregular type of warfare different from the one they are fighting against Iraq; and to destroy the repressive machine employed by the regime against the people. Additionally, the MKO men punish policemen, the IRGC, and other members of the repressive establishment. Ja'far Zadeh and Reza'i explained the new changes and their impact on the regime. They argue that, having lost the strategically important Al-Faw peninsula, the regime will not venture a counteroffensive, but will concentrate on another area like Halabjah in the northern mountains which is of no strategic value. The regime will portray it as a major victory in order to justify the war.

The MKO leaders believe that the regime cannot proceed on the path of peace but will continue the war as a cover for its repression, its violation of human rights, and its attempts to make the Iranian people live under circumstances that prevailed in the dark ages. They added that the MKO leaders work for peace as it is the inevitable result between the two neighboring peoples. We discussed the relationship that exists between them and the Iraqi Government. Ja'far Zadeh said that the Iraqi Government places no restrictions on their movements and activities. He said: For example, we noticed

that no one stopped us when we traveled in cars bearing MKO licence plates through the many checkpoints on our long journey from Baghdad to our base.

He said their agreement with the Baghdad Government was further entrenched after France expelled them as part of the deal French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac concluded with Tehran to release the hostages held in Lebanon. He added that the agreement gives them freedom of movement and organization among the Iranian refugees in Iraq whose number is around half a million. The military commanders to whom I spoke said they carry out their activities separately from the Iraqi forces but they inform them about the location and time of their operations a few hours before they carry them out to avoid any clashes between the two sides by mistake. Ja'far Zadeh added that their agreement with Baghdad is as an ally and not a subordinate.

I then spoke to him about the different objectives his organization and the Iraqi Government want to achieve from the war. They have different objectives. While Baghdad has reiterated its call for peace and for a settlement following the Iraqi forces recapture of Al-Faw, the NRC does not want a truce. Its objective is to topple the ruling regime in Iran. I also asked him what if Iraq is forced to freeze the activities of the MKO if some agreement is reached with Iran, particularly as Iraq has called for the suspension of the war of the cities and the attacks across the borders.

Mohsen Reza'i said he does not believe the regime in the Islamic Republic of Iran will agree to a settlement because peace means the collapse of the main pillars on which the regime has been established. Reza'i believes the Iranian regime exploits the war to continue with its persecution of the Iranian people. Therefore, it is inconceivable for it to agree to a settlement. If it does so, it will encounter domestic crises and problems. Reza'i said that Khomeyni and Hashemi-Rafsanjani will agree to peace only if they completely fail to find human and material resources that will enable them to pursue the war. He added: However, if what you have said takes place, then the MKO has the contacts and the potential to enable it to transfer its struggle inside Iran and thus avoid placing Iraq in an embarrassing situation. Reza'i believes peace will trigger many domestic contradictions in Iran that the Iranian opposition will exploit to topple the regime.

Sri Lanka

Indian Troops Kill 3, Arrest 20 'Terrorists'

BK0505135888 Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 1215 GMT 5 May 88

["OANA/Pool" Item]

[Text] Colombo, May 5 (LANKA PUWATH)—Three LTTE terrorists were killed by the IPKF yesterday while a woman terrorist was captured along with a large haul of weapons and 20 LTTE terrorists were also captured.

Official sources told LANKA PUWATH that two LTTE terrorists, Kokkan and Ramanadan, were shot dead in an encounter with Indian troops at Alayadi Vempu, in the Batticaloa District, while a third terrorist, Michel, swallowed a cyanide capsule and commited suicide. The IPKF also captured one 9-mm machinegun and 2 hand grenades.

At Udaimadu, also in Batticaloa District one terrorist Atavil was killed by Indian troops [words indistinct] LTTE cadres, including a hardcore terrorist codenamed "Siri," were apprehended. Two claymore mines and three hand grenades were seized during this operation.

Official sources said that at Nunavil, Jaffna, a woman who was checked by the IPKF on suspicion was found to have 1,500 rounds of AK-47 ammunition, 104 rounds of 7.62 ammunition, 3,697 rounds of [word indistinct] ammunition, 27 AK-47 magazines and two 7.62 magazines. The IPKF also seized three improvised explosive devices at Kodikaman, Jaffna. Six LTTE terrorists were apprehended at Chunakkam, four at Suttar, and ten at Alamchernai in Trincomalee.

At Palai in Jaffna, the IPKF recovered 1 AK-47 rifle, 2,126 rounds of ammunition, 3 claymore mines, and 4 improvised devices.

Tamil Rebel Group Calls Strike 6 May

BK0605095888 Hong Kong AFP in English 0949 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Colombo, May 6 (AFP)—A strike called by a Tamil rebel group to protest internecine warfare hit Sri Lanka's Tamil areas Friday, reports reaching here said.

Shops were closed and roads deserted in parts of the country's northern and eastern provinces in response to a strike call from the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO).

The TELO was commemorating the death of its leader Sri Sabaratnam, killed by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) on this day two years ago.

The LTTE, in its bid to emerge as the most powerful rebel group, also gunned down nearly 150 TELO members in April-May 1986. Most killings took place in northern Jaffna Peninsula.

Residents in eastern Batticaloa said shopping areas were shut and private and public transport off the streets.

"There is virtually no one on the streets barring Indian soldiers," a resident said by telephone. "The strike is total."

Meanwhile, a similar strike was on in Jaffna, where Sabaratnam died, and at Kilinochchi, also in the north, a TELO spokesman said over phone from Vavuniya, 254 kilometres from here.

But city buses had been allowed to operate in the two areas, he added.

In Vavuniya, TELO officials installed a marble plaque in the heart of the town in Sabaratnam's memory, he said. Posters hailing the dead had appeared in most towns.

The TELO is one of the five major groups which laid down arms under a 1987 Indo-Sri Lankan peace pact which sought to end a separatist campaign.

Indian troops and Sri Lankan forces were on maximum alert because of the strike, officials here said.